



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

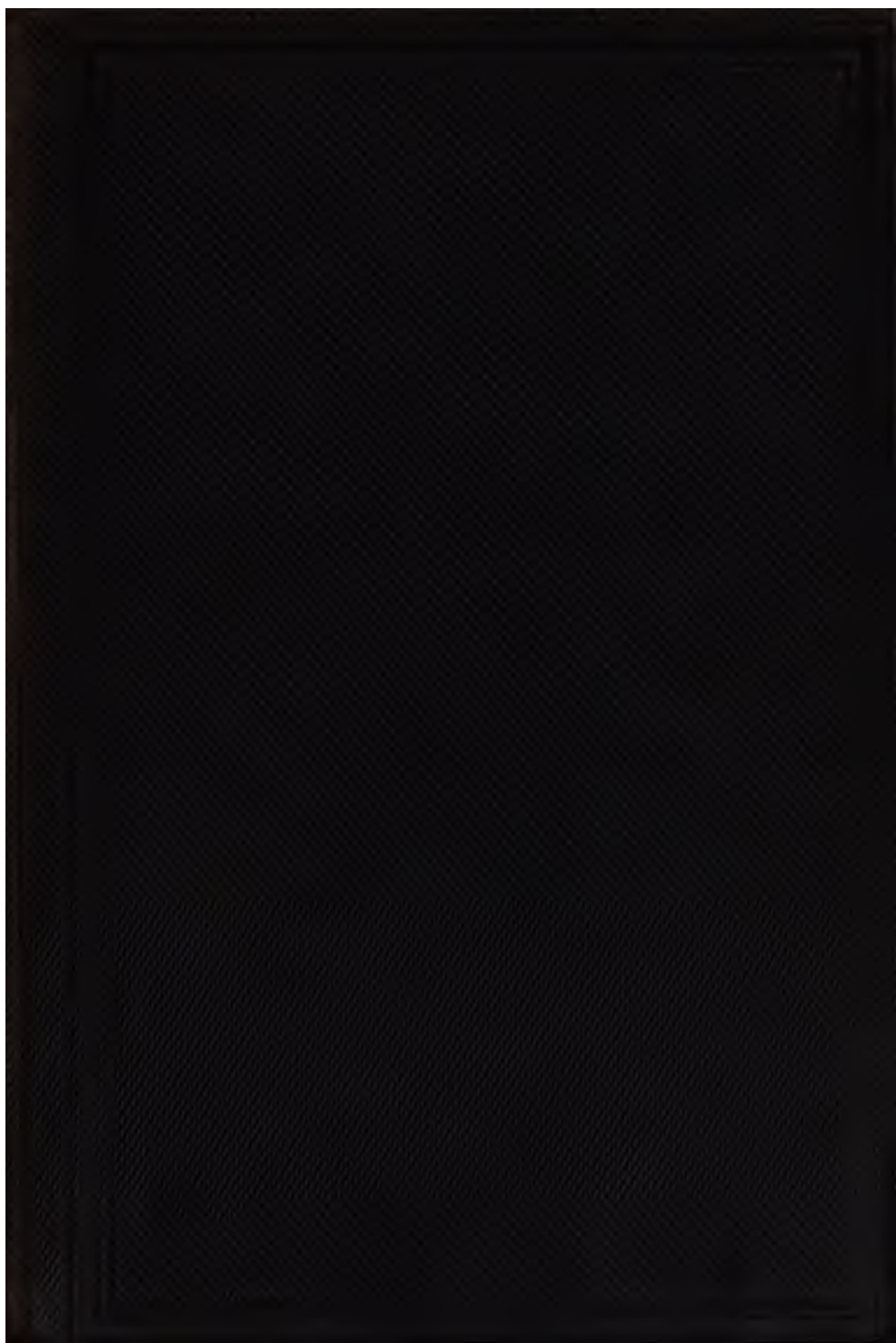
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







THE INFLUENCE OF THE
SEPTUAGINT VERSION

OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT

UPON THE
PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE REV.
WILLIAM RALPH CHURTON, B.A.
FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίας ἔργον, ὥστε μὴ
μονον τοὺς τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ἡσκημένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας
τοὺς τὴν οἰκουμένην οἰκοῦντας τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν καρπώσα-
σθαι.—*St Chrys.* on *Gen. Hom.* iv.

Cambridge :
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND 23, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN,
London.

1861.

100. s. 40.

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M. A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.



THIS ESSAY OBTAINED THE HULSEAN PRIZE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE IN THE YEAR 1859.

CLAUSES directed by the FOUNDER to be always prefixed to the HULSEAN DISSERTATION.

CLAUSES from the WILL of the Rev. JOHN HULSE, late of Elworth, in the County of Chester, clerk, deceased: dated the twenty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven; expressed in the words of the Testator, as he, in order to prevent mistakes, thought proper to draw and write the same himself, and directed that such clauses should every year be printed, to the intent that the several persons, whom it might concern and be of service to, might know that there were such special donations or endowments left for the encouragement of Piety and Learning; in an age so unfortunately addicted to Infidelity and Luxury, and that others might be invited to the like charitable, and, as he humbly hoped, seasonable and useful Benefactions.

He directs that certain rents and profits (now amounting to about a hundred pounds yearly) be paid to such learned and ingenious person, in the University of Cambridge, under the degree of Master of Arts, as shall compose, for that year, the best Dissertation, in the English language, on the Evidences in general, or on the Prophecies or Miracles in particular, or any other particular Argument,

whether the same be direct or collateral proofs of the Christian Religion, in order to evince its truth and excellence; the subject of which Dissertation shall be given out by the Vice-Chancellor, and the Masters of Trinity and Saint John's, his Trustees, or by some of them, on New Year's Day annually; and that such Dissertation as shall be by them, or any two of them, on Christmas Day annually, the best approved, be also printed, and the expense defrayed out of the Author's income under his Will, and the remainder given to him on Saint John the Evangelist's Day following; and he who shall be so rewarded, shall not be admitted at any future time as a Candidate again in the same way, to the intent that others may be invited and encouraged to write on so sacred and sublime a subject.

He also desires, that immediately following the last of the clauses relating to the prize Dissertation, this invocation may be added: "May the Divine Blessing for ever go along with all my benefactions; and may the Greatest and the Best of Beings, by his all-wise Providence and gracious influence, make the same effectual to His own glory, and the good of my fellow-creatures!"

Subject proposed by the TRUSTEES for the Year 1859 :

The Influence of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament upon the Progress of Christianity.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
General Statement of the Subject. Reasons for omitting the consideration of the Apocryphal Books and the Alexandrian School	1—8

PART I.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT CONSIDERED IN ITS RELATION TO THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

On the extent to which the Greek Language prevailed in the world at the time of the Christian era.

Preparation for the kingdom of Christ by the Four empires represented in Nebuchadnezzar's Vision. The first and second by their relation to the chosen people. The third and fourth more influential in the preparation of the Gentiles. Causes of permanence of Greek influence. Intellectual empire. Greek colonies in West. Massilia great centre of Greek influence. Churches in Gaul. Empire of Alexander. Alexandria and Antioch. Jewish dispersion. Greek cities in Bactriana. Greek spoken in Syria and Palestine. Use of word *Ἑλλην* in New Testament and by Fathers. Greek the language of Eastern and Western Churches. Influence of Greek philosophy. Julian Apostate 9—27

CHAPTER II.

PAGE

*On the Influence of the Septuagint in the Conversion of
Jews to the Faith, and the Controversies of Christians
with Jews and Pagan Philosophers.*

Appeals to the Old Testament by the Apostles on the day of Pentecost chiefly through the LXX. Speech of St Stephen. Alleged "historical mistakes." St Paul at Antioch, Thessalonica, &c. Quotations from LXX. in the New Testament. Depreciation of LXX. by Jews. Justin Martyr's Dialogue. His use of Gen. xxxi. 13. His charge against the Jews of erasing passages. Third passage instanced compared with 1 Pet. iv. 6. Fourth passage important from the relation of the word *ἐλσιν* to the Jewish controversy. Aristo Pellæus. Two fragments of the Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus. Controversial works of Tertullian, Cyprian, Chrysostom against the Jews. Assaults by pagans. Celsus on Genesis. Porphyry on Daniel. Julian Apostate on quotations in New Testament. Argument from prophecy. Justin Martyr's *Apology*. Origen. Clemens Alexandrinus. Conclusion of the subject . 28—57

PART II.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT CONSIDERED IN
ITS RELATION TO THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE
CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

On the universal respect for the Septuagint.

Two causes for the reverence paid to it. First, the traditional authority attached to the Version; secondly, the belief in the story of Aristeas. Irenæus expresses the first. Three Editions in Jerome's time. Opinions of St Jerome. Letters of St Augustine to St Jerome. Rejection of version of Aquila. Philastrius's five "heresies." St Jerome unable to shake the traditional authority. St Augustine adhered

	PAGE
to it. Reverence for it not so universal in the East. Some Greek writers depreciate it. Synopsis supposed to be Athanasius's. Joseppus. Chrysostom. In West sustained by authority of Augustine's writings. Anselm. Original preferred by Origen and by Jerome	58—74

CHAPTER II.

On the Versions made from the Septuagint into other Languages, especially the Latin.

Testimony of Eusebius and Theodoret on the number of languages into which the Scriptures were translated. St Jerome. Gift of tongues. Two Syriac versions. Gothic, Armenian, Latin versions. Latin fathers do not cite uniformly. Literal character of versions from the Septuagint. St Jerome's two editions. Liturgical use of Old Vulgate. Greek words. Names of Books. Technical terms. Quotations by Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine. Ambrose on Habak. ii. 11, compared with St Jerome's commentary 75—89

CHAPTER III.

On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Doctrinal Language of the Church, and the Controversies in which Christian Writers have been engaged at different periods.

In what sense the Alexandrian translators became the instructors of the world. Forms of language already prepared for the preachers of the Gospel. CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED. ART. I. Phrase "to believe on or in." Importance of Names. Certain names to be revered. To name the Name of God is to confess His Presence. LORD God of Hosts. Almighty. Rock. Highest. Holy One of Israel. Living God. Invisibility of God. His Glory. Hesychastic controversy. Eternity of God. Creator. Creature. ART. II. Christ. *μονογενής* and *ἀγαπῆτός*.

ART. III. On the word <i>σάρξ</i> . Melito and Tertullian against the Marcionites. Athanasius and Arius. <i>σκηνώ</i> .	
ART. IV—VII. <i>ξόλων</i> . <i>φθης</i> . <i>ψυχή</i> . <i>ἐκ δεξιῶν</i> . <i>πλήρωμα</i> . <i>μεσίτης</i> .	
ART. VIII. Importance of the Septuagint in the controversies on the nature of the Third Person. The attribute <i>ζωοποιόν</i> . St Basil. Anselm. Obscurity of the use of the word <i>πνεῦμα</i> . Sanctification.	
ART. IX—XII. <i>συναγωγή</i> and <i>ἐκκλησία</i> . <i>πατήγυρις</i> . <i>ἀφesis</i> . <i>θασμός</i> . <i>θαστήριον</i> . <i>ἀφεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας</i> . <i>δικαίω</i> . <i>διδβολος</i> . <i>δαμόνιον</i> .	
Conclusion	90—120

<i>List of Authorities quoted or referred to</i> . . .	121
--	-----

<i>Index</i>	124
------------------------	-----

INTRODUCTION.

THE Providence of God assigned to the Alexandrian Version of the Old Testament a most important part among the instruments by which the Christian Faith was propagated in the world. It was the written document of revealed truth which the earliest missionaries carried with them into every country where they preached the Gospel; from which they produced arguments to convince Jews and pagans alike; and drew much of the language by which they made known the truths of the Christian religion, and set them in opposition to the philosophy and polytheism of the pagans.

As Churches were founded, the version was received and universally respected in them. It was read in Divine service, and many forms of prayer were derived from it. The name of Christ seems itself to have its origin in this version, and so the very terms Christian and Christianity arose out of the language employed by the Alexandrian interpreters. It was quoted in controversies with heretics, both with those who accepted the Old Testament, and those who denied the divine character and origin of the Jewish Scriptures: and thus its influence was extended to all periods of the Church, and grew in importance as the Church was enlarged.

There will be two divisions of the subject, as we consider the influence of the version in its bearing upon the external and internal history of the Church. Under the first of these two heads will be included the increase and enlargement of the Church by the conversion of Jews and heathen to the faith, the controversies of Christians with the Jews, the assaults of the adversaries of Christianity, and the answers of the apologetic writers of the Church. In order fully to understand the important relation which the Version bore to the growth and progress of the kingdom of Christ, it will be necessary to inquire into the causes which rendered its influence so universal in the Churches which were planted by the first preachers of the Gospel. The chief cause was the universal prevalence of the Greek language in the countries where the Gospel was first preached, which was also the occasion of the authors of the New Testament delivering their writings in Greek. No other version but a Greek version could have had so wide an influence, either with Jews or heathen, or converts to Christianity from both; for Greek was the language of the civilized world: it had become the language of a large portion of the Jewish nation, who preserved the knowledge of the religion of their fathers by means of this Version. Thus to obtain an idea of the extent of the influence of the Alexandrian Version, it will be necessary to inquire into what countries the Greek language had spread, for by this means it will appear how many of the earliest Christian churches consisted of persons speaking the Greek language, and therefore employing this Version, which they had received from the Apostles or their successors, and read in their churches, as the Hellenists had before in their synagogues.

Having thus ascertained the extent of the local influence of the Septuagint as a Greek version, the next inquiry relates to the way in which its influence can be traced in

the history of the propagation of the faith. It is evident that it was employed by the preachers of Christianity to convince the Hellenistic Jews of the truth, and to convert them to the faith. It has therefore an important place in the history of Christianity in its relation to Judaism from the beginning; which naturally followed from the origin which it had in the wants of the Alexandrian Jews. We shall therefore find the clearest traces of its influence in the early controversies of the Christians with the Jews, most of which were conducted in the Greek language with Jews of the dispersion, and had the common ground of the Septuagint upon which the arguments of both sides were founded. And this appears from the fact recorded by Tertullian, that the Jews continued to read the Septuagint in their synagogues, after the faithfulness of the version had been disputed by them in many passages alleged against them by the Christians: whilst the Christians, on the other hand, accused them of altering its text, and erasing portions of it. Among the arguments brought against the Jews from the Septuagint, the passages from the Law, Psalms and Prophets which are found in the New Testament, corresponding with that version, have an important place. For the sacred writers in most cases wrote for Jews as well as Gentiles; and frequently with especial reference to the Jews of the dispersion, who then made use of the Alexandrian Version as containing the Divine oracles of the Law and the Prophets.

In the controversies with pagan philosophers the influence of the Septuagint also appeared, though not so directly bearing on the subjects of dispute as in those which were conducted with the Jewish enemies of Christianity. The pagans however, certainly in some cases, chose as their favourite point of attack in Christianity the connection which it had with the Jewish religion. As political rulers often confounded the Christians with the

Jews in bringing popular accusations against them of sedition, and disturbing the peace of the empire, so the Greek philosophers ridiculed them as a sect having its origin in a nation generally regarded with contempt and dislike. This naturally led them to assault the religion on the side of the Jewish Scriptures, which had been received from the Jews, and were revered by both alike. This they did through the medium of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, and the Christian apologists quoted and employed this version in their answers to these assaults.

In the internal history of the Church the manifestations of the influence of the Version are numerous and important, so that it would be hardly possible to embrace them all within this inquiry. The first subject to be considered is the universal respect and esteem in which the Version was held by all the early Christians; also how long it continued to be universally respected, and what causes led to its depreciation by some writers in later times, and its rejection in some portions of the Church. The testimony of the earlier writers, before the time of the labours of Origen and Jerome, sufficiently shew the respect which was given to the traditional authority of the Version. After the time of Origen the use of various editions produced great confusion, and it is not easy to discover what was the prevailing opinion about the Version. The respect for it was no doubt mainly due to the belief that it was one of the great instruments by which the knowledge of God and His attributes and His dealings with men were made known to a large portion of the world: and this consideration must have made many ready to accept the tradition of its inspiration; supposing that there must have been some Divine direction in a work, which had by God's Providence been made the instrument of revealing Him to so many nations of the earth as the Creator of the universe, and the

Governor and preserver of His creatures, and declaring His attributes and perfections. And if we consider that from the beginning the fulfilment of prophecy was alleged as the one great evidence of the truth of the Christian religion, it is not surprising that so high a respect should have been shewn to the Version by means of which these oracles became known to the world.

The next subject is the extension of the influence of the Version beyond the sphere of those Churches in which the Greek language was spoken, by means of the numerous versions which were made from it into the languages of different nations upon their conversion to Christianity. Such translations were made into the Illyrian, Gothic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Syriac languages. It will then be necessary to give especial attention to the old Latin versions by which the Churches of Africa and Italy were guided before the time of Jerome. As these were mostly literal renderings of the Greek text of the Septuagint, it is evident that the influence of the Alexandrian Version may be traced to a great extent in the writings of the Fathers of the Latin Churches as well as in those who wrote in Greek.

The last subject which it is proposed to consider, is the influence of the Version upon the doctrinal language of the Church, and the controversies in which Christians have been engaged at all periods. The terms and expressions of the Creeds and Confessions of Faith are evidently of the deepest importance in the history of the progress of Christianity. To believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth, are the most essential parts of conversion to the faith; and the forms of confession which were taught wherever the Gospel was preached cannot rightly be omitted in the consideration of the influence of this Version. It will, therefore, be right to notice the most important instances where the Septuagint has furnished the

language by which the great truths of the Christian religion have been expressed from the first; where its phraseology was adopted, first by the New Testament writers, and afterwards by the compilers of the Creeds; and used in the forms of prayer and the various parts of public worship in the Church.

There are also some subjects, which seem to be supplementary to those which have been stated, and to require a separate consideration. Such is the influence of the Septuagint Version in the form in which it was commonly used in different portions of the Church, with the addition of the Apocryphal books. The degree or kind of respect given to these books is a question of considerable interest. It is certain that those books which are included in our catalogue of the Apocrypha cannot have been regarded all alike with the same reverence. If they represent Jewish or Hellenistic traditions preserved orally by the scribes, like the *δευτερόβιβλος* mentioned by Jerome and Augustine, we should expect to find a mixture of truth and error, such as we know existed in the other Jewish traditions, some of which were condemned by the Apostles, others received the sanction of the inspired writers of the New Testament. The Wisdom of Solomon probably contains some sayings thus handed down by tradition, and ascribed to Solomon, but not written till a later date; being ascribed to Philo by some of the Rabbins. With respect to the others, most writers¹ on the Apocrypha have treated the subject in reference to the Romish controversy, and have thus been led to an indiscriminate condemnation of them, founded chiefly on internal evidence; whilst a moderate writer of the Roman Church² has maintained that the Council of Trent never intended to condemn the Hebrew Canon or the Hebrew

¹ As Horne, *Introduction to Scriptures*.

² Father Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament*.

original, or to ascribe the same respect to these books as to the books contained in the Hebrew copies. To take a complete view of the subject¹ it would be necessary to consider each book separately, and thus come to some conclusion as to the respect entertained for it at different periods: for though the opinions of Cyril of Jerusalem, of Epiphanius, and the author of *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*, ascribed to Athanasius, are useful in determining the Canon as accepted by the highest authorities among the Greek Fathers, they do not enable us to come to any conclusion as to the respect due to those individual books which the Church of England, after the example of Jerome, considers to be useful for example of life and instruction of manners; out of which certain have been chosen as more instructive than the others, and more generally revered by antiquity, to be read in public service.

It will be sufficiently clear from these remarks, that the great extent of this subject has made it necessary to omit a fuller consideration of it in the present essay, especially as the Apocryphal books are not strictly to be called a part² of the Alexandrian Version of the Old Testament: the influence of the latter in its strictest sense upon the progress of Christianity being so large a subject, that it would be hopeless to embrace the whole of it. For the same reason it has been found necessary to omit a full consideration of the influence of the language and opinions of the Alexandrian school of Philosophy; though this is a subject very closely connected with the history of the Septuagint. But whether this influence can be traced in the part which it had in the preparation for the Gospel, or in any permanent effects in the teaching

¹ That is, of the influence of the Apocryphal Books within the Church. Their relation to the preparation for the Gospel, and the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah, is a distinct question.

Cf. Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*.

² This seems to have been the opinion at least of Cyril of Jerusalem, expressed in his *Catechetical Lectures*.

of the Church, the ancient Greek version of the Old Testament appears¹ to stand distinct from it, in the peculiar authority which it possessed from the first, and the unspeakable benefits which the Church throughout the world derived from it.

The general idea which it is the object in this dissertation to follow out is that which was suggested by Pearson, *Præfatio Parænetica in Vet. Test. Græc.* § 3: "Neque vero Sacra Scriptura tantum futuro theologo pernoscenda, sed et Ecclesiæ, tot ubique sacrarum literarum testimoniis ubique suffultæ, status cognoscendus, et SS. Patrum in hunc potissimum finem evolvenda volumina."

¹ The influence of the Alexandrian School upon the methods of interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures adopted in the ancient Church, is certainly very remarkable, and deserves a fuller consideration than can be given here. The Egyptian Jews, following the example of the Platonists, as it seems, who allegorized the theology of the Greek poets, had been led to discover a secondary mystical sense in the language of the Old Testament;

and this method certainly was carried to a considerable extent by the Fathers of the Alexandrian Church, Clement, Origen, and afterwards Cyril of Alexandria. The peculiarities of the Septuagint version, from the nature of the case, must have had an important influence on this branch of the teaching of the Church. Cf. August. *de Utilitate Credendi*, Burton's *Lectures on Church History*, Vol. II. p. 284.

PART I.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT CONSIDERED IN ITS RELATION TO THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

*On the extent to which the Greek Language prevailed in the
world at the time of the Christian Era.*

Ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίας ἔργον, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς τὴν
Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ἡσκημένους ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς τὴν οἰκουμένην οἰκοῦντας
τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν καρπώσασθαι.—St Chrys. *Hom. iv. on Genesis.*

THE Septuagint Version was universally received and employed by Jews and Christians speaking the Greek language during the first ages of Christianity. The extent of the sphere of its immediate influence is therefore to be computed in proportion to the extent to which the Greek language prevailed in the world, both at the time of the birth of our Lord, and during the three or four centuries after the Christian era. For though towards the close of this period its influence declined and became gradually limited to a smaller part of the known world, there can be little doubt that at the beginning of it the language, philosophy and literature of the Greeks prevailed far more than those of any other nation throughout the Roman Empire, and therefore within that portion of

the world which first received the light of Christian truth.

It has been observed¹, that in the history of the world, before the time of the coming of Christ, we may see that the Providence of God, in the various arrangements of the society of mankind, prepared and paved the way for Christ's kingdom. Of the great monarchies and kingdoms which the ambition of man founded from time to time, each had its part in the great dispensation of times, and each ministered to the accomplishment of God's everlasting purpose, of setting up "a kingdom which should never be destroyed, a kingdom which should not be left to other people, but should break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms of this world, and should stand for ever." Of these kingdoms of men there can be little doubt that the four figured in the vision of Nebuchadnezzar were the most important in their influence over mankind, and the preparation of the world for the extension of the Gospel. There were doubtless other great empires contemporary with these, of which some may even have reached over a wider extent than that one of the four which existed during the same period. But though such may have arisen in the east and south of the Asiatic continent, they were not so central with respect to the inhabited world in the situation of their dominions, as the four great empires were. Of these, the first, the empire of Babylon, occupied a position most apt for the concentration of commerce; and therefore for the extension of its influence, customs and language by the intercourse of traffic with the rest of the world. For wherever a nation increased its commerce and wealth, as the Chaldeans of Babylon, the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, or the ancient Egyptians did, we find that they enlarged their influence over the other nations of the

¹ Wilberforce's *Five Empires*.

world ; they planted colonies on distant shores, and introduced their language and customs. But this commerce was made subservient to God's eternal counsels for the higher good of mankind. As Solomon employed the wealth he received by his connexion by traffic with the cities of Tyre and Sidon for the building of the majestic temple which he reared to the glory of God at Jerusalem, so all the conquests by which the commercial intercourse between the different families of the human race was enlarged and developed, became some of the means by which the great spiritual temple of the heavenly city was to be enlarged and extended. This seems to be the meaning of the greater part of Isaiah, chapter lx. where the prophet describes the bringing in of the forces of the Gentiles to the house of God's glory, and shews how the wealth and commerce of the Gentiles, both of the East and of the isles of the West, were to minister to the great work of the Gospel. In all this the extension of the language and commerce of any people seem to follow one upon the other. The Babylonian and Persian empires ministered partly to this in God's great economy, but the work assigned to them seems to be more in close connexion with the Jewish Church ; whilst the third and fourth empires are far more important in their relation to the calling of the Gentiles into the Church of Christ. Though the commerce and colonies of the Phœnicians were enlarged to an amazing extent, the inhabitants of Greece and Italy were a people destined, in their time, to play a higher part in the world's history, and to exercise a far more lasting influence upon the fortunes of mankind. It was to the nation out of which the third great empire arose, that God assigned the part of providing an universal language, and extending the intellect of man, so as to enable him to receive with a higher appreciation the truths of Divine revelation ; for the

Greek language had much more to aid its universal extension in the civilized world, than the language of any of the great commercial nations before it had. Besides the intercourse of trade and the numerous colonies of the Greeks, their power of oratory, their philosophy, and their literature, by making Greece the teacher of mankind, all tended to the extension of the Greek language. The dominion of force, the empire of commerce, they had for a time in common with the great kingdoms that went before; but a far more lasting empire was founded by their philosophers, such as bore a great part in that mighty alteration which the third empire was to produce in the fortunes of mankind. Thus the Greek philosophers carried on the designs of God's Providence; they diffused that universal language which opened a way for the triumphs of the Gospel; and they shewed that nothing but the Gospel could enlighten mankind, by their failure in effecting that entire regeneration of human nature which they had in view. We see then that though the first extension of the Greek language was due to the enlargement of Greek commerce and colonies, the permanence of the influence which it exerted arose from the fact of its being the language of philosophy, literature, arts and sciences. The reality of this intellectual empire of Greece was felt and admitted by many Latin authors: Horace expressed it in the well-known line, "*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes Intulit agresti Latio*;" and Cicero gave the same account in his speech for Archias, where he affirmed that Italy was full of Greek literature and sciences in his time; and that Greek books were read by nearly all nations, whilst Latin writings hardly spread beyond the boundaries of the country which produced them. It is probably owing to this influence that even the commercial empire of Greece, through its colonies and language and customs, seems to have left a far more permanent effect than any of

the commercial empires that went before it, such as those of Babylon, Phœnicia, Egypt or Carthage. The extent of the colonies and territories possessed by the Greeks is noticed by St Jerome, at a time when many of the effects of their former influence throughout the shores of the Mediterranean had passed away. He is commenting on Gen. x.¹ After interpreting Javan to be the Ionians or Greeks, and Dodanim to be the Rhodians, according to the Septuagint, he adds: "If we refer to Varro's *Antiquities* or Sisinnius Capito, or the Greek Phlegon and other learned authors, we shall find that nearly all the islands and coasts of the world and the territories adjacent to the sea were occupied by Greek colonists; and, as I noticed before, they obtained possession of nearly all the maritime districts from the mountains of Taurus and Amanus to the Oceanus Britannicus." The same Father, in his second book of *Commentaries on the Galatians*, mentioned some of the colonies of the Greeks in the West, and especially in Gaul, as corresponding to the settlement of Gauls in Galatia. It is remarkable that both should have used the Greek language; the Gauls in Asia becoming Hellenized, whilst the Greek colonists even in the remote settlements in Gaul retained their own language for a long period. Long after the settlement of Galatia, we find that churches were founded and established in Gaul by missionaries speaking the Greek language: the cities of Lyons, Vienne, and Marseilles were full of Greeks, and their commercial intercourse with Asia Minor seems to have led to the establishment of Christianity by Asiatic Greeks; for there were many such Greeks among the Christians of Gaul who suffered in the persecution of Antoninus Verus. Some of these were natives of Phrygia or Asia; which partly accounts for the fact that when an epistle was sent containing the account of the persecutions, they employed the Greek lan-

¹ S^t Hieronymi *Quest. Hebraic. in Genes.*

guage, though it was addressed to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, as well as to their brethren in the East. Yet it seems to confirm the evidence which we have from other quarters, that the language of the literature and commerce of Marseilles had been to some extent introduced into the interior of Gaul by the Greeks who settled in those cities. Thus St Jerome gives this account: "Marseilles was founded by the Phocæans: Varro says that they spoke three languages, Greek, Latin, and the language of Gaul." If, however, we compare with this the account of Strabo¹, there will be little doubt which of these three languages had the preponderance. He describes their form of worship as the same as that of the Ionians: they had a temple to the Ephesian Diana. Their form of government was Greek, consisting of an aristocracy and a senate of men called *τυποῦχοι*. They employed Ionian laws and customs, and had even introduced Greek religious rites among the inhabitants of the Spanish shore. After this he describes how the Massaliots introduced Greek civilisation together with the science of agriculture amongst the barbarous tribes of the interior of Gaul. In Strabo's own time they were eminent for their refinement, and devotion to the study of philosophy and rhetoric; and the place became a kind of school to which the Gauls repaired in large numbers to acquire the knowledge of the Greek language and literature; and it was no unusual thing at that time to recommend even the noble Roman youths to repair to Marseilles instead of Athens in the pursuit of Greek learning. This account is confirmed by Tacitus² in his life of Agricola, who was educated there. Thus Marseilles was a great centre of Greek commerce and Greek civilisation. From this as a centre colonies arose on the neighbouring

¹ Strabo, Lib. iv. p. 179. B.C. 30.

² Tac. *Vit. Agricola*: "Sedem ac magistratam studiorum Massiliam

habuit, locum Græcæ comitate et provinciali parsimoniâ mistum ac bene compositum."

coasts and in the interior of Gaul, many of them with Greek names, but all of them, as it would seem, in the first ages of Christianity strongly imbued with Greek civilisation; employing the Greek language in their literature, and cultivating it in their schools of rhetoric. St Jerome proceeds to mention the town of Rhoda, founded by colonists from Rhodes, from which the Rhone took its name. The parts of Libya about Cyrene were also full of Greek cities. Ionian Greeks first settled in the Balearic islands, and then passed over to the Spanish shore, and founded Saguntum, and became the possessors of the old Phœnician colony of Tarshish or Tartessus, which in the time of Jerome was known as Carteia. The names of the Spanish mountains Calpe, Idrus and Pyrene, of the islands called Aphrodisiades and Gymnesiæ, and afterwards Baleares, are all tokens of the prevalence of the Greek language in the far West. There, as in other parts of the Mediterranean coasts, the Greeks appear to have succeeded to the Phœnicians in their commerce and colonies: according to Strabo, there were 200 places of Phœnician origin in the south of Spain; most of which must have fallen by degrees into the hands of Greek occupiers. In Aquitania, where in the time of Jerome the Greek language must have gradually died out, it was still the boast of the inhabitants that they were mostly of Greek descent; and it was commonly supposed that any high intellectual power that appeared in the West must be traced to the same origin. There are many other instances of Greek colonies in the West, such as those of Antipolis and Nicæa, the modern Nice: and the account of Strabo shews that at the time of our Lord's birth Greek influence in Southern Gaul was far from being on the decline. If St Paul accomplished his intention of visiting Spain, when, according to Clement of Rome, he proceeded to the furthest limits of the West, the churches which were first founded there must have been Greek, and

so the Scriptures employed by them were the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament.

But the influence of the Greek language and literature in the East was much more permanent, because it was not merely promoted by a few isolated Greek colonies and maritime settlements, but by the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the designs for the advancement of commerce and civilisation which were commenced by that remarkable man and carried out by his successors, in the various parts of the empire which he founded. No series of events in history seem to have had so important and so immediate a bearing upon the extension of Greek language and commerce, and so upon the advance of civilisation in the human race, as the conquests of Alexander, who had in his youth acquired from the teaching of Aristotle that ardent love of knowledge and those enlarged views of things, which raised him above ordinary conquerors. When he conquered and destroyed Tyre, all that remained of the old Phœnician wealth and commerce perished, and gave way to the new great centre of Greek wealth and learning, which, with admirable foresight, he founded at the mouths of the Nile. In the course of a few years the city of Alexandria succeeded to the wealth of Tyre and the literary renown of Athens. This was one of the greatest and most successful of his designs, by which he sought to combine together the natives of the East and West by commercial and literary intercourse, and to elevate the character of the various subjects of his empire by the infusion of Grecian discipline and vigour. There were many ways in which these temporal plans of Alexander appear to have been made subservient to the purposes of God to forward the foundation and enlargement of His spiritual kingdom upon earth. Amongst these was the increase of the influence of the Jewish people, and of their intercourse with other nations. It would seem that Alex-

andria was the first Gentile city in which a large colony of them settled for purposes of traffic, and that from thence they gradually spread far and wide into the West. For the sake of this Alexandrian colony the Jewish Scriptures were translated by degrees into the Alexandrian dialect of Greek: first the Pentateuch, and afterwards the Prophets and the remaining books. The teaching of the Old Testament in this Hellenised form was carried by the Jews into every city of Europe and Asia where they settled, and provided many of the forms of language which the first teachers of Christianity employed in declaring to both Hellenistic Jews and Gentiles the truths of the Gospel. It came to be used and respected not only by the Alexandrian Jews, but by all those dispersed Israelites who adhered to the religion of the true God, and attended on the solemn feasts at Jerusalem: the rest of the twelve tribes¹ who were scattered throughout the world, who in addition to a large portion of the posterity of Judah had in this remarkable way become generally Hellenised, and though confounded by aliens with the descendants of Judah, still retained their genealogies, and other traditions by which each tribe was kept distinct from the rest². Even in Palestine itself Hellenistic Jews were numerous; and in Jerusalem there were many Jews who held constant intercourse with their brethren in Alexandria, and spoke the same language as they did³.

It was not only in Egypt and Asia Minor that

¹ Acts xxvi. 7: τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν. And James i. 1: ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ.

² Grabe, *Prolegomena*, Pars II. Cap. I. § 40, seems to doubt this, and speaks as if families from other tribes would have become considered part of the tribe of Judah. This was certainly not the case with all the Hellenists: e.g. St Paul in Phil. iii. 5. Again, Anna the prophetess

was of the tribe of Aser, Luke ii. 36. So also Heb. vii. 14, and Rev. vii. 4, Matt. iv. 13, &c.

³ From Acts vi. 1, 9, it appears that a colony of Hellenists were settled at Jerusalem from Egypt, Libya, and Rome; these formed a distinct congregation or synagogue, known as that "of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and Asia."

Alexander succeeded in permanently establishing Greek language, customs and civilisation. When the Macedonian conqueror penetrated to the remote districts of Bactriana and allied himself to the daughter of Oxyartes, he set himself to confer upon those conquered nations the benefits of civilisation. The rigours of despotism were softened; arts and industry were encouraged; and to effect this among the fierce inhabitants of the hilly country, he built a city, to which he gave his name, on the range of Paropamisus; and to habituate the roaming Scythians to the manners of cultivated society, he founded towns and planted Greek colonies on the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes. According to Strabo¹ he founded eight cities in Bactriana and Sogdiana, and put a stop to the savage usage of the inhabitants with respect to the aged and diseased. He also relates that the power and influence of the Greeks were extended over a wider district of Scythia, Ariana and India, after the time of Alexander. Besides Babylon and Seleucia and the new centres of Greek civilisation planted on the Euphrates, there were Greek colonies on nearly all the shores and great rivers of Western Asia.

In the remoter East, their empire was of comparatively short duration; but in Asia Minor and Syria, it continued for many centuries. "From the Eastern shores of the *Ægean*, from Ephesus and the mouth of the *Mæander*, the Greeks possessed the greater part of the maritime territory as far as Antioch²." This great city, at one time the third city in the world, was hardly inferior to Alexandria in the important part assigned to it in the early history of the Christian Church, and the influence of Greek language and civilisation upon the progress of the Gospel. Both these cities abounded in Jews from their first foundation; and this was partly due to the policy of Seleucus, who in founding Antioch raised them to the same political position

¹ Strabo, Lib. xi.

² *Ib.* Lib. xiv.

with the other citizens¹. Thus the city, besides being a great centre of Greek language and civilisation, became the chief centre of the dispersion of the Hellenists. Antiochus the Great, whose empire extended over Syria and Asia Minor, with Antioch as the metropolis, planted 1000 families of Jews in Lydia and Phrygia. The Greek version of the Old Testament, which was originally made for the Jews of Alexandria, became also the Scriptures of those Jews who were dispersed about all the coasts of Asia; for it does not appear that they employed any other version before the time of Aquila of Pontus². All these Jews seem to have employed the same dialect and phraseology as their brethren in Alexandria; they assumed Greek names, and gave Greek names to their children, and this was done even by their priests. Hence also phrases of the Alexandrian school of philosophy, and expressions which arose among the Egyptian Greeks, became generally diffused wherever there was a colony of Hellenists.

With respect to the progress of Christianity, the importance of the city of Antioch appears in the fact of its being the great centre of the missionary travels of St Paul. In his time Greek was certainly the language of Antioch, the Jews of Antioch being called Hellenists in Acts xi. 20; and the disciples who lived in Antioch appear to have employed the Septuagint, for they spoke of our Lord by the name *Χριστός*, the title of the Messiah which had its origin in that version; and their enemies hearing of their frequent use of this name, probably formed the Latin derivative 'Christianus' of the Greek word, as if they had been a political party like the Herodians, and disturbers of the peace of the empire. We may see in this a remarkable confirmation of the truth of the history of the Acts, in that it agrees with all accounts that are found relating to the city of Antioch as one of the centres of Greek influence.

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* XII. 41.

² Grabe, *Prolegomena*, II, Cap. I. § 41.

Sixteen such centres were founded by Seleucus in different parts of Asia; but we find in Antioch, more than in any other of the Macedonian cities, traces of Greek refinement and learning. All the records which were made of the acts of the Seleucidæ were certainly made in the Greek language. Euphorion, the librarian of Antiochus the Great, was a Greek of Chalcis, and wrote his literary works in that language. So did Megasthenes, whose work on India was known as τὰ Ἰνδικὰ, being written on his return from his mission to the Ganges by Seleucus Nicator. The same was the language of the Church of Antioch for many centuries after its first foundation by the Apostles. It was the language of the Epistles of Ignatius, of the Creeds drawn up by the early synods of the Syrian Church, and the language in which the eminent fathers, Theophilus, Meletius, and afterwards Chrysostom, delivered their discourses to the inhabitants of the Macedonian metropolis of the East. Those of whom Chrysostom¹ speaks as not understanding Greek were the rustic agricultural labourers, rude and illiterate men, who spent most of their time out of reach of the pernicious amusements and luxury of the city. Besides Antioch there were many cities and districts in Syria where the Greek language prevailed. In the New Testament we find indications of this in the mention of the region of Decapolis, which consisted of Greek cities, such as Philadelphia, Gerasa, Gadara, Hippos and Pella. There was the city of Cæsarea Philippi. The Syrophœnician woman is called by St Mark, a Greek. In the Acts, among the converts who assembled in Jerusalem after the feast, there were Hellenists. The persons addressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews were probably Jews of Syria and Palestine who spoke Greek. Some have asserted that all the Galilæans were Hellenists, and that our Lord Himself, during His residence at Nazareth in His childhood, was

¹ *Hom. xix. ad Pop. Antiochenum.*

instructed in the knowledge of the Septuagint. Others have seen in the especial mention of Hebrew words, such as *Talitha cumi*, an indication that these were exceptional cases, our Lord in general delivering His discourses in the same language in which they have been recorded by the Evangelists¹. Of the Apostles and others mentioned in the Acts, some, like Philip, Stephen and Peter, had Greek names, others, like Justus, Marcus, and Paul, adopted Latin surnames.

We have now noticed three of the great centres of Greek civilisation. Marseilles in the West, and Antioch and Alexandria in the East: the last two being most important in their immediate relation to the Septuagint Version; because in them the particular form of Greek arose in which Hebrew idioms and forms of expression were introduced. There the largest numbers of the Jews of the dispersion were collected, and to them, and especially to the Alexandrians, we trace the origin of the Hellenistic dialect; a language combining the phrases of various schools of philosophy with those of the Old Testament, which was suited to become the channel² of revealed truth to all the world; though only so far as a language can be said to be the teacher of truths unknown and unrecognised before, which man could never have arrived at without the aid of revelation. In this sense the Hellenistic dialect, in which the New Testament was written, was one of the chosen means by which God declares the truths of the Gospel to man.

There are other confirmations of this historical fact,

¹ Grinfield *On the Septuagint*; Hug, quoted by Lee, *On Inspiration*.

² Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St Paul*: "a Theological Language suited to convey Christian ideas to all the world." This statement seems to require some limitation for the sake of reverence. So Pearson *On*

the Creed, Art. I.: "The testimony of God is not given unto truths before questioned and debated: nor are they such things as are first propounded and doubted of by man, and then resolved and confirmed by interposing the authority of God." See below, p. 92.

that from the time of Alexander, Greek had become the common language of the cities of the East, and was generally used in their commerce with other people. Such a confirmation may be observed in the use of the word Ἕλλην by the writers of the New Testament. Its most frequent use seems to be in the sense of ἔθνικος or heathen; so that the whole of mankind were included in the two divisions of Jews and Greeks, 1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. iii. 28. In these passages Ἕλληνες seems to be used in the same way as ἔθνη in the Epistle to the Ephesians. The latter word is always the rendering of the Septuagint for the Hebrew עַם, Gen. x. 5; Isai. lx. 3. The use of Ἕλληνες as a general appellation for aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, may have had a later origin; for it seems to occur in this sense first in the books of Maccabees. It testifies to the universal Greek influence over the Gentile nations with whom the Jews were brought into contact. Yet at the same time its origin is to be traced mainly to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the forms of Greek idolatry came to be directly opposed to the worship of the Almighty. For example, in 2 Macc. xi. 14, "Greeks" seem to have this sense: "We understand that the Jews would not consent unto our father, for to be brought unto the custom of the Greeks:" whilst in 2 Macc. iv. 13, Ἑλληνισμός and ἀλλοφυλισμός are connected as synonymous terms. Thus from its use at this period with reference to the persecuting Macedonian power, it came to be used commonly for Gentiles and idolaters, but more especially by the Hellenistic Jews, as may be inferred from the language of the New Testament. From St John vii. 35, it would appear that the whole body of the Jews of the Dispersion were included in the words ἡ διασπορὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In the same way we find the Syrophœnician woman called by St Mark Ἑλληνίς: and there is a remarkable parallel to this in the LXX version of Isai. ix. 12,

where פְּלִשְׁטִים , which is rendered $\Phi\upsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\mu$ in the Pentateuch and Joshua, but generally $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ in the other books, becomes Ἕλληνας . This may indicate that the time at which the version of the prophet Isaiah was made, must have been about the time at which this use of Ἕλληνες arose, during or soon after the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the reading of the prophets was introduced as a substitute for the law, which had been prohibited by the foreign oppressor of the Jews. In Philo it does not appear to have this sense, Ἕλλας being in one place opposed to barbarians, and in another even to Macedonians; thus he limits it to Greece proper. Though the general sense of heathen and idolaters seems to be attached to the word Ἕλληνες in the New Testament, it does not lose its distinctive Greek sense, as in some places it is put in opposition to Barbarians and Scythians, as well as to Jews. We may therefore infer that it represents the general preponderance of Greek influence over all the parts of the world which were visited by the first teachers of Christianity. The Ἕλλην seems to be not merely the Gentile, but the learned and philosophical heathen in many places. Thus it is used in the passage 1 Cor. i. 22—24; "The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom," &c. At the same time the whole of mankind seem to be included in the two words $\text{Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες}$. The same thought pervades the writings of Clement of Alexandria¹, who however kept in view the other portions of mankind, even in those passages where he spoke of the Gentile philosophy as corresponding to the law of the Jews in preparing the way for Christ's coming. It is remarkable that the Greek Fathers, being

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 17: $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\varsigma$ οὖν Ἰουδαῖοις μὲν νόμος, Ἕλλησι δὲ φιλοσοφία μεχρὶ τῆς παρουσίας, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ κλήσις ἡ καθολικὴ εἰς περιούσιον δικαιοσύνης, λαὸν κατὰ τὴν

$\epsilon\kappa$ πίστεως διδασκαλίαν συνάγοντος δι' ἐνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ μόνου ἐνὸς ἀμφοῖν Θεοῦ Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων, μᾶλλον δὲ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους.

themselves in some sense Ἕλληνες, should have yet followed the sacred writers in their use of this word, not only in their commentaries, but even in their controversial treatises and apologies. And here the λόγοι κατὰ Ἑλλήνων or πρὸς Ἑλλήνας did not so much refer to the philosophical Greeks, as to the pagan mythology, or form of idolatrous worship which had been propagated by that nation. Such especially was the work of Tatianus Assyrius¹. In the time of Athanasius and Chrysostom² these works continued to bear the title of arguments against the Greeks. Cyril of Alexandria also spoke of ἡ πολύθεος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλάνη. The opposition of force and persecution came from the Romans, but the more subtle hostility of philosophical arguments on one side, and the demoralising effects of pagan superstition on the other, arose from the Greeks³. Accordingly we find that Justin Martyr places Ἑλληνισμός in direct opposition to Χριστιανισμός, although he was himself versed in Greek philosophy: as in the New Testament we may trace throughout the early Christian writings the two ideas of the name "Greek," one as opposed to "Barbarian," the other to "Jew." Tertullian speaks of the Greeks in reference to their philosophy in his work against Marcion, and in a treatise *de Pallio*, he uses the word "Græcari" of those who lived philosophically, and not with the pomp of a barbarian. Lactantius makes the Greeks and their mythology his object of attack, as if the false religion of the Greeks, and its immoral effects, were the chief enemies with which Christianity had to contend. Thus all is Greek in the first ages of Christianity, both within the Church and without it. First the Apostles and Evangelists, and then the Apostolic Fathers, wrote and

¹ λόγος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων.

² λόγος εἰς μακάριον Βάβυλαν καὶ κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας.

³ St Jerome, *Comm. in Epist. ad*

Galatas, Cap. iv.: "Pro Græco Gentilem accipere debemus, quia Ἕλλην et Græcum et ethnicum utrumque significat."

delivered their discourses in Greek. Greek names were adopted universally both in the East and West; the names of the Church, the Sacraments, the orders of the Ministry, of the places of Divine worship, and of the different parts of the service, were Greek. These, such as Evangelium, Liturgia, Litania, Exomologesis, were diffused in countries where Greek was not understood. But in the East there was hardly any Church of note where it was an unknown tongue. We have seen that it prevailed in Antioch and Alexandria. At Jerusalem Cyril and others imparted the Gospel to their flock in Greek; and that was the language of Cyril's catechetical discourses¹. It was the language of Cyprus where Epiphanius had his see. In Gaul Irenæus wrote in Greek, and we have seen that the Churches planted there were of Greek origin. In Italy the first converts appear to have been Greek²: it was the language in which St Paul wrote to them, in which Clement of Rome wrote, and probably also discoursed; many of the early bishops of Rome, as Cletus and Anicetus, had Greek names; and it is not unlikely that when Polycarp administered the eucharist at Rome, he would employ the language of his own Church. All the ancient Churches of the West have been described as "Greek religious colonies". This may be true to some extent; but the writer seems to draw too close a parallel between these Christian colonies and the synagogues of the Hellenistic Jews who settled in

¹ Whitaker, *Disputation on Scripture*. (Parker Soc.)

² The Church of Rome probably consisted at first of Libertini (so Acts vi. 9), that is, converts out of that body of Jews who had been slaves, but having become freemen and Roman citizens, occupied a large section of Rome beyond the Tiber. Philo (*leg. ad Caium*, p. 1014) says that they were Jews who had been brought as captives to Italy, and being set free by their

purchasers without being compelled to change any of their country's rites, had their synagogues, and assembled in them, especially on the Sabbath. See Dr Pusey's *Commentary on Joel ii.*, who observes that in the spiritual gifts with which the Church of Rome was endued, there was an evident fulfilment of the words of the prophet Joel, ch. ii. 19.

³ Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Book i. Ch. i.

the various maritime cities of Europe for the purposes of commerce. The Jews were distinctly exclusive in their relations to other nations of the world, and so might even prefer the use of a tongue which was unknown to many of the inhabitants around them. Such a principle is so clearly opposed to the spirit of Christianity, and the doctrine of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, that we cannot admit that the early missionaries founded Churches on such a footing. The original cause of their adopting the Greek rituals and language was that they were planted by Asiatics; but the cause of the Greek character which they afterwards assumed is to be found in that universal prevalence of the Greek language of which we have clear evidence in profane authors. Greek being the commercial language throughout the empire, must have been known to a large portion of the inhabitants of Rome and Italy. Even in Africa there are traces of Greek influence, as if there was a transition state before the Churches assumed a decidedly Latin character; and the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian abound with Greek words, which seem afterwards to have given place to a purer Latinity, such as that of St Augustine.

Again, without the Church we find Jews and Gentiles alike attacking the religion in Greek; and the earliest Christian authors write their exposures of the evils of Pagan superstition in the same language: afterwards, when we come to the subsequent age, in which some of the Latin Fathers flourished, we find that they also write of Greek superstition and mythology as the great evil which it was the work of Christianity to eradicate. They speak of the Roman world as being then leavened by the evils of Greek luxury and refinements, which were subversive of morality; and Lactantius argues with especial reference to the vices introduced by the Greeks to the ruin of the ancient virtue of the Romans, much in the

same way as St Paul before wrote to the Romans of those things which were especially the crimes of the Greek nation.

The period of the history of the Church in which we have the clearest evidence of the important relation which the Greek language and literature bore to the progress of Christianity, is the time of Julian the Apostate. Bp. Warburton writes: "His most illiberal treatment of the Christians was his forbidding the professors who were of that religion to teach humanity and sciences in the public schools. His more immediate design in this was to hinder the youth from taking impressions to the disadvantage of Paganism; his remoter view, to deprive Christianity of the support of human literature." By this of course was intended the study of the Greek authors, for the grounds of Julian as cited by Gregory Nazianzen were: *ἡμέτεροι, φησὶν, οἱ λόγοι καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνίζειν, ὧν καὶ τὸ σέβειν θεούς· ὑμῶν δὲ ἡ ἀλογία καὶ ἀγροικία.* And throughout this third oration of Gregory Nazianzen, τὸ Ἑλληνίζειν is spoken of as that which Julian claimed as the sole right of the Pagans, including also the use of an elegant style of Greek, free from the barbarisms introduced in later times. This peculiar and artful attempt of the Apostate to stay the progress of Christianity in the Roman world, is a singular evidence of the part which the Greek language and literature had in the propagation of the religion of Christ, during the first four centuries after the Christian era. The language in which the Apostle Paul addressed the Christians settled at Rome, no less than the converts of Achaia, in which he conversed with Roman governors and military tribunes¹ alike in the East and the West, retained the influence which it had at the beginning of the Gospel, during the subsequent period of the Church's growth and establishment.

¹ Acts xxi. 37.

CHAPTER II.

On the influence of the Septuagint in the conversion of Jews to the Faith, and the Controversies of Christians with Jews and Pagan Philosophers.

“Mihi enim videtur exitiosissimè credi, aliquod in Sanctis Libris haberi mendacium : id est, eos homines, per quos nobis illa Scriptura ministrata est atque conscripta, aliquid in suis libris fuisse mentitos.” S. AUGUSTINI *Epist. ad Hieronym.* XXVIII. c. 3. “Neque enim parvum pondus habet illa quæ sic meruit diffamari, et quæ usos Apostolos non solum res ipsa indicat, sed etiam te attestatum esse memini.” *IB.* *Epist. ad Hieronym.* LXXI. c. 4.

THE appeals to the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, were an important part of the preaching by which men were from the first convinced of the truth and converted to the faith of Christ. Immediately after the Holy Ghost had descended upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, “His words were in their mouths¹,” to convince the world of sin, of righteousness and judgment; and among the means by which this conversion was most frequently produced, at least in the minds of the Jews, the appeals to the words which the same Spirit spake by David and the other prophets in the Old Testament, appear most prominently in the sacred history. From this period, therefore, the influence of the Jewish Scriptures and the LXX. Version of them, upon the conversion of Jews to the faith and the controversies with the enemies of Christianity, commences. Amongst the Jews of the Dispersion enumerated in the

¹ 2 Sam. xxiii. 2.

2nd Chapter of the Acts, at least nine nations, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Alexandria, Cyrene, Romans and Cretes, must have spoken the Greek language and employed the Septuagint Version of the Scriptures. Among these the labours of the twelve endued with the gift of tongues brought over three thousand to the faith. The speech of St Peter being addressed by the Apostle of the Circumcision to the men of Judæa and them that dwell at Jerusalem, was probably spoken in their language; but we may believe that this was only a specimen of what was spoken generally by all the Apostles in various languages, especially the Greek. In this speech there are three quotations from the Psalms, another from the prophet Joel, and a clear reference to the words of Isaiah (c. 57). All these are recorded by the Evangelist in the form of direct citations from the LXX., with the exception of one or two slight transpositions or additions. In the next chapter we find the same Apostle quoting the Books of Genesis and Deuteronomy to convince the unbelievers.

The next important employment of the Old Testament Scriptures for this purpose is found in the defence of St Stephen. It was perhaps delivered in Greek, and in this case we have the very words which he spoke preserved by the Evangelist. The special mention of the Hebrew tongue in the account of St Paul's speech at Jerusalem has been alleged as a confirmation of this opinion, as nothing is said about Hebrew here; also St Stephen and the rest of the seven seem to have been Hellenists, from the occasion of their appointment; and perhaps it was natural that Greek should be employed in a speech which was to shew that God's favour was not to be limited to the Hebrew nation¹. Almost all the references in his speech as recorded by St Luke are to the Septuagint Version. We

¹ St Stephen's antagonists are called Cyrenians, Libertines, Alexandrians, &c. in Acts vi. 9, who would certainly be Hellenists.

cannot, however, arrive at any certainty with respect to the language spoken on all the occasions recorded in the New Testament. We have already observed that some have conjectured that the particular mention of such phrases as Ephphatha, or the speech upon the Cross, indicates that even Christ Himself did not for the most part employ the Hebrew language, and that in Syrophœnicia, Gadara and Decapolis, or even throughout Galilee, He was among people who spoke Greek, and would have addressed them in the tongue with which they were most familiar. But whatever tongue Stephen used, the Evangelist recorded his speech as one which would be instrumental in the conversion of Hellenistic Jews, or the confirmation of Jewish believers, and accordingly adhered closely to the Septuagint version in the references to the Old Testament. The speech itself holds a most important place in the history of the Church of Christ, as the first *Apologia contra Judæos*, and the Divine pattern by which those controversies which Christian teachers afterwards conducted were to be guided. When we consider this great importance of the defence itself, and the remarkable words concerning the speaker, which the Evangelist places before and after it, the notices of the past history of the Jews, and the words of the Septuagint cited in it, appear to receive an authority in no way inferior to that of the writers of the Old Testament, conveying oracles of truth, as far as human language can express it¹. It may be that the ancients, in their deep sense of reverence which they entertain for the inspired writings, overstated the necessity of the submission of the reason, and the restraint

¹ Cf. the words of Augustine to Jerome which stand at the head of the chapter. He also adds: "agendum est igitur ut ad cognitionem Divinarum Scripturarum talis homo accedat, qui de Sanctis Libris tam sanctè et veraciter existimet, ut

nolit aliquà eorum parte delectari per officiosa mendacia: potiusque id quod non intelligit transeat, quam cor suum præferat illi veritati." The apparent contradictions are noticed by Jerome, Epist. LVII. ad Pammachium.

of critical inquiry¹. But in the case of St Stephen's speech, when we are assured that both the speaker and the Evangelist were endued with the powers of discerning of spirits and interpretation of Scripture, it appears hard to admit the existence of error, unless the alleged mistakes are strictly demonstrable.

Theodoret remarked more than once of the Prophets of the Old Testament, that we are not to ascribe to them the attribute of omniscience, but only the knowledge of such things as the grace of God revealed to them². But this speech of St Stephen is described as one of those which falls distinctly under the prediction of Christ: "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you," calling to their remembrance things of the past, and declaring things to come. On these principles we may adopt, as neither unreasonable³ nor inconsistent with the judgment of antiquity, the hypothesis, that on

¹ This kind of respect for the language of Scripture expressed by St Augustine appears to represent a general opinion founded on the traditional authority given by the universal Church to the sacred books. If so, it comes down to us from the same authority as the books themselves, and cannot be set aside as merely a "preconceived theory" of some modern commentators. (Alford's *Greek Testament*, on Acts vii.) The respect for Scripture which we find in the writings of the Fathers does not seem to be grounded on any theory of Inspiration; for after the careful investigation of the opinions expressed by early writers of the Church, in the Appendix to Mr Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, it sufficiently appears that they did not speculate on the subject at all. The writer has brought forward several passages which he believes to be inconsistent with the view of inspiration, called "the theory of mechanical agents." It is hardly credible that their views

can have been opposed to that opinion, for most of them believed the Divine origin of the Septuagint, in which the inspiration was said to be such as to lead the authors of the Version to a verbal consent. See Note below, p. 72. It is not intended here that the writings of the Fathers directly favour the doctrine of mechanical agents, but rather that they are opposed to any theory at all upon such a deeply mysterious question; so that they would lead us to reject all theories, and ground the degree of respect which we give to the books of Scripture upon the universal tradition of the Church. If we take the judgment of antiquity for our guide, it will certainly lead us to a cautious reverence which adopts no theory, but is simply unwilling to ascribe false statements to the inspired teachers.

² Theodoret, *Quæst. in 2 Reg.* Cap. VII: οὐκ ᾔδεισαν ἄπαντα ὁ προφήται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ θεὰ χάρις αὐτοῖς ἀπεκάλυπται.

³ See *On Inspiration*.

this occasion the sanction of a Divine revelation, which is as credible with respect to the past as the future, was given to certain Jewish traditions connected with the Old Testament history, not deducible either from the Hebrew or the LXX., but not altogether irreconcilable with them.

1. That Abram was first called from Ur of the Chaldees, from his country and kindred, and then again from his father's house in Mesopotamia.

2. That Abram did not immediately obey this second call, but waited until the death of his father Terah. This supposition makes Abram much younger than that one of his brothers who was born when Terah was seventy years of age. Perhaps his nephew Lot may have been nearer to his age in life¹.

3. That all the patriarchs, as well as Joseph, were buried in Sychem in Samaria, and not in the country of Judæa. St Stephen's words do not assert that Jacob was buried there.

4. That Abraham purchased a piece of ground at Shechem or Moreh for the purpose of building an altar to God, of the sons of Hamor the prince of the Shechemites, a different person from that Hamor with whom Jacob afterwards dealt.

The most remarkable instance of a citation from the Septuagint is in the number 75 of those who were with Jacob in Egypt. Here St Stephen certainly followed the account given in the Greek of Gen. xlv. in the points in which it differs from the Hebrew copies. The latter, in enumerating the house of Joseph, only mentions the two, Ephraim and Manasseh, sons of Joseph, in verse 20. This verse in the LXX. mentions five others, the two sons of Ephraim, and the two sons of Manasseh, and Edom the grandson of Ephraim, and son of Sitalaim. It may be

¹ Lee *On Inspiration*, Appendix II. St. Augustini *de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 15.

that this account was taken by the translator from an ancient Hebrew copy, or it may have been introduced from a tradition preserved by the tribe of Ephraim. In either case St Stephen has given it a sanction as a record of historical facts; and it has been observed¹ that it is the ground of an additional argument in the pleading of the speaker, that those who were born in Egypt were equally children of promise with those who were born in Canaan: thus shewing the probability of God's extending His promises to all the nations of the earth.

As we proceed in the study of the Acts we find more instances of the influence of the Septuagint upon the conversion of Jews and proselytes to the faith. The *περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς* read by the Ethiopian eunuch, as recorded by St Luke, adheres closely to the Alexandrian Version. And this version was probably the one which he was reading, Philip preaching to him in Greek, and making use of that verbal parallelism, *γινώσκεις ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις*; Those who "were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch," and are said to have preached the Gospel to Hellenists at Antioch, and hence they must have brought arguments from the Septuagint to persuade them.

At Antioch in Pisidia many of the Jews and religious proselytes were converted by Paul and Barnabas, making use of authorities derived from the same version. In the address made by the Apostle in the synagogue, the LXX. translation *καταφρονῇται*, is adopted instead of the Hebrew text as it now stands *כִּי יִבְזֶה* = *ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι*, where the Greek agrees with the Syriac; and the Apostle's employment of the passage would lose much of its force, if the word "despisers" was excluded. *τὰ ἔθνη*, in the same speech, is also a remarkable rendering of the LXX. quoted from Isa. lv.; the word being rather expressive of that

¹ Wordsworth, *Greek Testament*.

which strikes awe and reverence than of God's overflowing love and mercy, which is the sense contained in the corresponding word in the original¹. In this speech of St Paul the word *δικαίω* also occurs, and the first assertion of the doctrine which it was employed to express; the word being one of those, the use of which is derived from the Septuagint.

In the history of the Synod of Jerusalem, the Evangelist has transcribed from the LXX. the prophecy of Amos in his account of the speech of St James on the calling of the Gentiles; and here again it differs from the Hebrew, which speaks of the subjugation of Edom, and yet in such a way as to speak more clearly of the truth concerning the Gentiles, which it was intended to express. The words of Amos may be altered and paraphrased here, but only so as to express the sense of numerous other passages of Scripture.

After this in Thessalonica and the other Greek cities in which St Paul preached the Gospel, we read of his proving the fulfilment of prophecy in Christ from the Scriptures in every synagogue. Those Scriptures which were read on every sabbath-day were undoubtedly the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament². These were the books which the Bereans searched so diligently from day to day. Wherever the word *γράφαι* occurs in the account of Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus, this Version is meant. In Corinth, where so many were endued with the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, there may have been some who were miraculously enabled to interpret the Hebrew; but as far as we can gather from the evidence of later times, all these Churches must have received the Septuagint from the authority of the Apostles, and constantly read it in time of public worship. Lastly, in the 28th

¹ יָרַח

² Acts xvii. 2: Κατὰ δὲ τὸ εἰωθὸς τῷ Παύλῳ εἰσήλθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ

ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία διελέγετο αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος, ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν.

chapter we find the Apostle discoursing with the Hellenists at Rome¹, out of the same Version; and by the form of speech which he uses, he affirms that the words of the Greek interpreters truly express the mind of the Holy Ghost, as He spake by the prophet Esaias, the words as cited following that Version exactly in a place where the translator wrote the future for the imperative of the original², thus shewing that these expressions in the prophets are to be understood as the Divine declarations of the future.

The quotations from the Old Testament in the other parts of the New Testament do not bear so much upon the influence of the Septuagint in the first promulgation of the Gospel, as those which we find in the Acts. Those books were written not for the conversion of the unbelievers, but that those who had become Christians "might know the certainty of those things wherein they had been instructed." The quotations by the New Testament writers have been thus³ arranged under four heads:

I. Those passages which are taken strictly and literally from the Septuagint, where it differs from the Hebrew. Thus *καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν* from the LXX. rendering of Gen. ii. 24, is quoted three times: Matth. xix. 5; Mark x. 8; Eph. v. 31. Here the addition of *οἱ δύο* seems to give a clearer perception of the meaning of the words in Genesis. The most remarkable instance⁴ is the citation of Ps. xl. 6 in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where *σῶμα κατηργήσω μοι* from the LXX. seems to give an idea altogether different from that of the Hebrew original, "Mine ears hast thou opened;" yet both alike declare the obedience⁵ of the Son, for the sense in both cases is,

¹ The Libertines. See above, p. 25, note 2.

² Cf. the passage from Zechariah "Smite the Shepherd, &c." which is quoted in Matth. xxvi. as a future.

³ See *On Inspiration*.

⁴ This passage is discussed in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan. 1860.

⁵ Balthassar Corderius, in his

"Thou hast made me obedient." The LXX. however shews how the obedience is exemplified: Thou hast prepared for Me a body, which I am to consecrate as a sacrifice to Thee.

II. There are passages in which the LXX. does not represent the true sense of the original, where the authors of the New Testament abandon it, and give their own version of the original. Thus in John xix. ὄφονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν is nearer to the original of Zech. xii. 10 than ἐπιβλέφονται πρὸς Μὲ ἀνθ' ὃν κατωρχήσαντο. This inaccuracy was afterwards corrected by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. It was observed by St Jerome in his *Comm. on Zech.* Lib. III. who adds: "Johannes autem Evangelista qui de pectore Domini hausit sapientiam, Hebræus ex Hebræis, quem Salvator amabat plurimum, non magnopere curavit quid Græcæ literæ continerent, sed verbum interpretatus e verbo est, ut in Hebræo legerat, et tempore Dominicæ passionis dixit esse completum."

III. There are citations which differ both from the Hebrew and the LXX. where the latter seem to correspond. Several instances of this are mentioned by St Jerome to Pammachius, *Epist.* lvii. Such is the quotation from Jeremy, of the words found in the prophecy of Zechariah; or again, in Mark i. 1, where the prophecy of Malachi seems to be ascribed to Isaiah; or Abiathar mentioned instead of Abimelech. The words of Ps. lxviii. as quoted by St Paul in Ephes. iv., "He gave gifts unto men," agree with the old Syriac version, but not with the Hebrew or Septuagint as we have them. Here we can only suppose that St Paul paraphrased the Psalm, not that the original was inapplicable to Christ, for doubt-

Commentary on the Psalms extracted from the Greek Fathers, gives this explanation: ὑπακοὴν με ἀπήτησας μοῦσιν, ὅσα γὰρ τὴν ὑπακοὴν λέγει.—Τὸ δὲ, Ὁρία κατηρίσω μοι, ὁ μακά-

ριος Παῦλος εἰς τὸ, Σῶμα, μεταβαλὼν, εἰρηκεν οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν οἰκείον σκόπον τούτῳ χρησάμενος.

less He may be said to have just received that which He afterwards gave; but because St Paul is in this chapter speaking of Christ as the Head of His Body, in relation to which He is the Giver, as we are the receivers of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The sense of the original seems to include the idea of giving; for the words following¹ (rendered literally by the LXX. *καὶ γὰρ ἀπεύ-
θουντες*) seem to imply that the rebellious 'received' these gifts.

IV. The last class of quotations is that in which a passage being cited severally by two writers of the New Testament, one argues from the literal sense of the original, while another adopts the sense given to it in the Septuagint. Thus St Matthew quotes Isai. liii. "Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses," literally from the Hebrew, whilst St Peter takes the sense given to the passage by the LXX. when he refers to the prophet's words: "Who His ownself bare our sins in His own body on the tree." In this way the inspired writers draw a twofold sense out of the passage concerning the sufferings of Christ, who, though sinless, bore physical pain, the consequence of sin, and was also the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.

Hitherto we have considered the influence of the Septuagint upon the progress of the Church, so far as it can be traced in the history of the Acts of the Apostles; it now remains to be considered how that influence was afterwards extended to the controversies of early Christian writers with Jews and Pagans.

Most of the early controversies with the Jews were conducted in the Greek language, and on the common ground of the faithfulness of the Septuagint Version, which was quoted alike on both sides. And so it continued

to be respected during the age of the writers of the New Testament, and the first century from the Christian era. As however the Version grew into use among Christians, it gradually lost the confidence of the Jews; and the high respect which the Hellenists at first entertained for it, came to be diminished when it was urged against them by the Christians. The first signs of this appear in the works of Justin Martyr in the second century. His *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* professes to be the account of a discussion which actually took place, and Eusebius¹ places the scene of it at Ephesus. Trypho describes himself as one of the Jews who fled from Palestine at the time of the insurrection of Barchochebas. The *Dialogue* abounds with citations from the Old Testament, taken in many cases from the text of the Septuagint, but not always², probably because the Version had begun to lose the respect of the Jews, who had either rejected it, or altered its text in many places. Passages are alleged on both sides, and a good deal of light is thus thrown upon the way in which the controversy with the Jews had been conducted up to that time. In some instances the Jews denied the genuineness of the passages which directly confuted their opinions; in others they applied language manifestly prophetic of the events respecting the Messiah to the actions of mere men³, such as Hezekiah. Their objection to the doctrine of our Lord's Divine nature appears most prominently in this treatise, and

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 18.

² They are said to agree with the text of Origen's *Hexapla*, or with the version of Symmachus. The departures from the LXX. version in the citations from Amos and Micah are very considerable, and are noticed in Usserii *Syntagma de Ed.* LXX. cap. 4.

³ Thus Ps. cx. 1, which the ancient Jews believed to be a prophecy of the Messiah (see Matth. xxii. 43),

the later Jews interpreted, some of Abraham, others of Zorobabel (Chrys. in Ps. cix.). Others applied verse 3 of the same Psalm to Hezekiah. When Gen. i. 26, "Let us make man, &c." was brought forward by the Christians, they answered that the words were addressed to the angels, thus departing from the ancient interpretation of the Targum (Chrys. in Gen. i.).

accordingly the influence of the Alexandrian Version may be partly traced in the extracts from the Old Testament which are brought to establish this doctrine. We also find that the Jews, in disputing with the Christians, claimed a kind of exclusive right to their own Scriptures. There is a reference to this in the Epistle of Barnabas: "They maintain that the Old Testament belongs to them and not to us; but it has become ours, because they have lost for ever the truth which Moses received." And Justin Martyr in this treatise says: "These prophecies are contained in the letter of your books, which however are not yours but ours, because we obey them: but you read them without perceiving the spirit which is contained in them." The letter of the Old Testament, which the Jews had thus claimed as their exclusive right, was the letter of the Alexandrian Version, to which the Hellenists generally till the beginning of the 2nd century confidently adhered, as we know from the account of its origin which was given by Philo and Josephus. But when, as Christianity was propagated, they found that their books had become appropriated by the followers of the new religion, and that they could no longer confine them in the obscurity of their synagogues, they resorted to the Hebrew text, which they might still claim as exclusively their own, and made their own Greek versions of the passages employed by the Christians. Amongst the numerous quotations in this work of Justin Martyr, is that of Gen. xxxi. 13, in which the LXX. Version differs from the Hebrew text; and this peculiarity seems to influence the argument of the writer concerning the revelations of the Son of God, which may be traced in the Old Testament. Here, where the Hebrew has simply, I am the God of Bethel, the Septuagint rendering is: Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἐν τῷ τόπῳ Θεοῦ. This repetition of the Name of God (יהוה) seems to have a remarkable bearing upon the

argument of Justin, that the angel who spoke to Jacob in the vision was God, and yet not the God and Father of all, who would be signified by the second mention of the name Θεός in the passage. For it may be compared to the repetition of Κύριος in the LXX. Version of Ps. cx. 1, which he quotes several times in this treatise, and in one place he compares it with the Θεός of Ps. xlv. 6, having, no doubt, in his mind the quotation of the former passage by our Lord. In these places he argues that the Son is signified by both titles; and the Son, as the Eternal God by whom all things were made. This sense, though doubtless contained in the Hebrew, appears more clearly in the Septuagint Version, and especially in the Psalm, where the same Greek equivalent is used for two different Hebrew words. We may also compare Gen. xxxi. 13 with Gen. xix. 24, which Ambrose¹ quotes as "Dominus pluit a Domino," and makes a similar use of the repetition of Dominus, comparing it with Ps. xlv. 6.

At the time at which the *Dialogue* of Justin was written, Aquila the proselyte of Sinope had probably published the first edition of his version of the Old Testament. The compilation of this work was the expedient to which the Jews resorted to escape the evidence urged against them by the Christians, who employed the Septuagint. They afterwards generally adopted the second edition of Aquila in preference to the Alexandrian Version; but if we accept Tertullian's statement, that the latter continued to be read publicly² in their synagogues in his time, we can hardly suppose that Justin refers to another version of the Scriptures as used by them. It is clear, however, from expressions in the *Dialogue*³, that if they still made use of the LXX., they had altered the renderings of many passages cited by the Christians against them. Thus they

¹ *De Fide*, Lib. I. cap. 4.

² *Apologeticus*, XIX. Sed et Judæi

palam lectitant.

³ cc. 124, 157.

had substituted the translation *veavls* for *παρθένος* in Isai. vii.; which according to Irenæus was introduced by Aquila and Theodotion into their Versions, and in his time was generally adopted by the Jews: for Irenæus charges them with presumption in attempting to make interpretations different from those of the inspired Seventy, in the passages which were brought forward by the Christians. Again, it appears from Justin's *Dialogue* that in Ps. lxxxii. their reading differed in some way from that of the Septuagint. In another place the words of Justin are, "I now quote the Scriptures as the Seventy interpreted them: for when I cited them before as you accept them, I was endeavouring to discover what your opinion was." Then he quotes Isai. iii. 9, 10, both from the LXX. and in the translation accepted by the Jews. He does not refer to any other version by name, but accuses the Jews of having erased passages out of their copies of the version made by the elders in the reign of Ptolemy. In support of this charge he produces four prophecies of Christ, which he alleges had been removed from their copies. The second of these from Jer. xi. 19, had, he said, only recently been erased from certain copies, and was retained in others which were preserved in the synagogues of the Hellenists. This¹, however, is found entire in all our present copies. The first, which is taken from Ezra vi., is as follows: "And Ezra said unto the people, This passover is our Saviour and our refuge; and if ye consider and it enter into your heart that we shall by a figure² afflict³ Him, and afterwards

¹ Usserii *Syntagma de Editione* LXX.

² This *συμείων* was understood to be the cross.

³ *ταπεινώω*. It is a word which occurs several times in the LXX. in the Psalms, Job, and the Prophets. So Ps. lxxxvii. 15; Job xxii. 23; Isai. xix. 19. In the Jewish controversies it was probably applied constantly to the death of Christ, owing

to the use of the verb in Phil. ii. 8, and the substantive *ταπεινωσις* in Isai. liii. 8. Hence perhaps arose the application of Ps. xxi. 21, *ἀπὸ κερძων μορκερძων τῇ ταπεινώσει* Μου, to the cross by Justin and Tertullian in arguing against the Jews; and the mention of the unicorn by Apollinaris of Hierapolis, in reference to the part of the cross upon which the body rested.

hope in Him, this place shall not be made desolate to all time, saith the Lord God of Hosts¹. But if ye believe Him not, and hear not His preaching, ye shall become a spoil for the Gentiles." Some have conjectured that this is an interpolation due to a Christian, who inserted them after Ezra vi. 21. Perhaps some words similar to these may have been introduced into some copies by Hellenists, whose high veneration for the memory of Ezra seems to have led them to attach extraordinary visions and revelations to his name. The writer of the second of the Apocryphal books of Esdras, (who, if a Christian, could have hardly been a convert to orthodox Christianity, as he supposes that Christ was to perish in the final conflagration², ch. vii. 29,) had this object in view,—to magnify Ezra above the scribe and historian, and to make him appear in the light of a prophet receiving clear visions of the world to come. There may have been a Jewish tradition that Ezra spoke to the effect that the passover was a condition of God's favour and protection to them; but the words must have undergone some modification before they expressed that τὸ πάσχα was identical with the Messias. The passage is also quoted by Lactantius, *Inst.* iv. 18.

The third passage is said to be taken from Jeremiah: "And the Lord God remembered His dead, who were fallen asleep in the dust of their tombs, and descended to them to declare unto them the good tidings of His salvation." These words are remarkable from their resemblance to those of 1 Pet. iv. 6³. If a genuine pas-

¹ St Jerome *On Isaiah*, Lib. i. cap. i. The Septuagint often rendered Sabaoth by *δυναμίων*; sometimes by *παντοκράτωρ*.

² The date of this work must be uncertain. It is difficult to believe it to be an original Jewish work written before the books of the New Testament. Critics, however, have placed it with the book of Enoch in

the first century before the Christian era. Cf. Westcott, *On the Study of the Gospels*.

³ 1 Pet. iv. 6, "νεκροῖς εὐαγγελισθῆναι." Passage of Jeremiah, as alleged by Justin Martyr, "κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελισσάσθαι." So 1 Pet. iii. 19, "τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι προεβύβηται ἐκλήρυξεν."

sage of Jeremiah, the Apostle's words seem to contain an allusion to them, as well as to the doctrine enunciated in the preceding chapter of his Epistle. If interpolated by a Christian convert, from some traditional saying of the prophet, or adapted from St Peter's words, it seems that the person who introduced them into the text of the Septuagint took the words of the Apostle in their literal sense, and not as later commentators have conjectured, that the persons called *νεκροί* were alive at the time of the preaching.

The fourth and last passage is from Ps. xcvi. 10: "Declare among the heathen, that the Lord hath reigned from the tree." Out of this passage the Jews are accused of having erased the last words, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου*. This passage is quoted again by Justin Martyr in his *Apology*. It is quoted on three different occasions by Tertullian in his controversial treatises¹. It seems² to have been generally diffused in the West by means of the Latin Psalter, and the Gothic Psalter used in Spain; for it is quoted by the author of the treatise on the mountains of Sina and Sion, ascribed to Cyprian, and by the author of the Commentaries on 1 Cor. xv., ascribed to Ambrose; by Leo, Augustine³, Gregory, Cassiodorus, and Arnobius the younger in commenting on the above Psalm. Yet the words occur in no Greek or Hebrew manuscript, and are not found in the Gallican Psalter which was translated from the Greek and employed in the Church of Rome in later times. But whether they had their origin in a Jewish tradition, or were simply interpolated by a Christian copyist, they must have existed in many of the copies in use among Christians, if not Jews also, as they are placed so prominently in the controversial works of Tertullian and Justin Martyr. They certainly occupy an important place in the history of the influence of the Septuagint Version upon the controversies

¹ *Adv. Judæos*, cc. 10—13. *Adv. Marcionem*, III. c. 19.

² *Usserii Syntagma de Ed.* LXX.
³ *Serm. IV. de Passione.*

with the Jews; for this mention of the tree can be traced from the beginning of Christianity. It was constantly made the subject of cavil by the Jews, and those who laboured to convince them of the truth of the Gospel were not ashamed to speak of the cross of Christ by this name; although it was evidently derived from the LXX. of Deut. xxi. 23¹, in which words the enemies of the truth triumphed. St Peter, first to the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and afterwards to Cornelius, employed the words of Deuteronomy in speaking of Christ's crucifixion. The same Apostle afterwards, in his own Epistle, addressed the Jews of the dispersion in Asia concerning Christ's death in the words: "Who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree." St Paul also, in his exhortation to the Jews in the synagogue of Antioch, spake of the cross by the same name. When he wrote to the Galatians he quoted the very words of the LXX., and connected them with the crucifixion of Christ, "Who," he said, "became a curse for us." This seems to be the allusion in the words, "We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumblingblock, and to the Greeks foolishness;" as if this was the greatest objection alleged by the Jews against those who gave them the offer of Christian truth, and the chief difficulty in their conversion. It is evident from the words of Tertullian² that they used to demand from the Christians a clear evidence that the death Christ was to suffer was that of the cross. This verse of Ps. xcvi. 10 was alleged in answer to it, and other passages were quoted, to which forced and fanciful interpretations³ (as they appear to us) were given. We may also trace to the same cause the

¹ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. Acts v. 30, and x. 39: κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου. 1 Pet. ii. 24: ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ. Acts xiii. 29: καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου.

² *Contra Judæos*, cap. 19: De exitu planè passionis ejus ambigitis,

negantes passionem crucis in Christum prædicatam.

³ *Kaye's Account of Tertullian*. On the type of the Cross deduced from the roasting of the Paschal Lamb, see Pearson *On the Creed*, Art. iv. note.

application of the words of the LXX. in Habak. ii. 11, *κάνθαρος ἐξ ξύλου* to Christ, which occur more than once in the writings of Ambrose, and in St Jerome's Commentary two or three interpretations are given which are founded upon the notion that *ξύλον* meant the cross.

It is remarkable that the same objection of the Jews appears in one of the small fragments of the treatise of Aristo Pellæus, which have been preserved. This controversial work against the Jews, called the disputation of Jason and Papiscus, was nearly contemporary with the *Dialogue* of Justin Martyr, and with the time of the revolt of Barchochebas. Here, however, the passage Deut. xxi. 22, 23 is cited, not according to the LXX., but¹ as Aquila is said to have rendered it, and so it is evidently alleged by the Jew Papiscus against his Christian opponent Jason, who would adhere to the old Greek rendering of the passage, as Tertullian did in his Latin Version of it; who, it is² conjectured, drew many of his arguments from this treatise of Aristo Pellæus. It is also another indication that the Jews had at this time begun to dispute the faithfulness of the Alexandrian Version.

We have seen that Justin Martyr made use of this Version to prove that the Son was revealed in the Old Testament. It was also employed by other Christians not only to prove that Jesus was the Christ, but also to shew the Divine character of the promised Messiah, and His relation to the work of creation from the beginning. The language of the Targums shew that Jewish traditions appeared to favour and consent to this kind of interpre-

¹ "Λοιδωρία Θεοῦ ὁ κρεμνόμενος." That this passage was alleged by the Jews in arguing against the Christians about the Cross, appears again in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue*, c. 32: οὗτος δὲ ὁ ὑμέτερος λεγόμενος Χριστὸς δῖμος καὶ ἀδοξος γέγονεν, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ κατὰρ τῇ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τοῦ

Θεοῦ περιπεσεῖν· ἐσταυρώθη γάρ. Again, the Jews were accused of adding the words τῷ Θεῷ in Deut. xxi. 22, so as to make the words ἐπικατάρατος τῷ Θεῷ stronger.

² Grabe, *Spicileg. Patrum*, Vol. II. pp. 132, 240.

tation with respect to the WORD or WISDOM of God, and Justin Martyr says that the Jews acknowledged that the Christ who was to come was to suffer, and to be a King, and to be worshipped as God, when the Christians quoted passages which expressly proved this. In the passage which Jerome quotes from the work of Aristo Pellæus, there is a trace of a controversy on this subject; where in Gen. i. 1, for "In the beginning," he read "In the Son." This paraphrase seems to be founded on the LXX. version of Prov. viii. 22, *Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ*. And Christians, in their controversies with the Jews, urged that Christ on whom they believed was the Wisdom or Word of God, and the beginning of the works of Creation. Thus in these two fragments of the treatise of Aristo Pellæus, we have two instances of the ways in which the Jews and Christians severally altered or paraphrased the Septuagint.

After the second century, the Hellenistic Jews received the Version of Aquila, and, according to Origen¹, used it everywhere instead of the Septuagint, and therefore this Greek translation is often mentioned² in the Talmud, where no reference is made to the Alexandrian Version. But in the time of Justinian all Greek versions had been alike rejected by them, and they had recourse to the Hebrew and Chaldee. The Septuagint however continued to be employed by Christians in their controversies with the Jews. Tertullian, though he wrote in Latin, seems often to have acted in the manner described by Augustine³, not employing any Latin Version, but interpreting as well as his acquaintance with both languages admitted of. It has been observed⁴ that he sometimes speaks as if he was acquainted with Hebrew. Like Justin Martyr, he main-

¹ *Epist. ad Africanum*. Tertullian, however, said of the LXX. "Sed et Judæi palam lectitant."

² Lightfoot on 1 Cor. cap. ix.

Prideaux's *Connection*.

³ *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*.

⁴ Kaye's *Account of Tertullian*.

tains the accuracy of the Version of the LXX. in Isai. vii. 14 against that of Aquila, to which the Jews now had recourse; and in the controversial treatise of Tertullian, as well as in that of Justin against the Jews, the cavil of the Jews against the death of our Lord upon the accursed tree appears as their strongest argument against the belief that he was the promised Messiah. Tertullian also follows Justin in his manner of answering this objection of the Jews, quoting Ps. xxii. according to the LXX., with the remarkable reading of 'exterminaverunt' for ὀρυξαν, and explaining the horn of the unicorn as if it represented the projecting part of the cross: this is also perhaps to be traced to the use of the word *ταμείνωσιν* in the same verse by the Alexandrian interpreters, which would connect it with the humiliation of Christ by the death upon the cross. He also follows Justin in the charge against the Jews of altering the text of the Old Testament¹. In the work *de Cultu Fœminarum*, he speaks at length on the Book of Enoch and the use of it by St Jude in connexion with the doctrine of evil angels, to which it gave testimony. He conjectures that it may have been preserved during the Flood by Noah, who, being the great grandson of Enoch, might be anxious to hand down the tradition which was for the honour of his family; or he might even be inspired to restore the lost book, as Ezra was believed by Irenæus and Tertullian to have restored the Scriptures which were lost during the captivity, by a Divine direction. Since it contained a prophecy of Christ, it ought not to be rejected. "It was probably," he said, "rejected by the Jews in the same way in which they erased other testimonies of

¹ *De habitu muliebri*, cap. III. These passages from the Fathers are much insisted upon by Morinus, in order to invalidate the authority of the Hebrew text. *Præfatio ad Bibliam Latinam et Græcam*, 1628. His failure in establishing his theory

was noticed by Pearson, *Præfatio Parænetica ad Ed. LXX.*, and by the learned writer of the Roman Church, Father Simon, in his *Critical History of the Old Testament*; and by many Protestant writers.

Scripture concerning Christ. It is not strange that they should not receive the Scriptures which spake of Him, since they would not receive Him, when He spake with them Himself." The accusation of Tertullian seems to be similar to that of Justin, who believed that the Jews had wilfully erased passages from their copies of the Alexandrian Version. Irenæus, who condemns the interpretation of Aquila and Theodotion in Isai. vii., does not allude¹ to their corrupting the text of the Version, but charges them with preferring certain Pharisaical traditions to the letter of Holy Scripture, and thus adding to revealed truth in some cases, and in others claiming a right to put forced interpretations upon it to adapt it to their tradition.

Cyprian employed the Septuagint, or a close and literal version from it, in his two Books of Testimonies against the Jews which he addressed to Quirinus, consisting of a series of citations from the Old Testament. Among these the passage Ps. cx. 3 is quoted according to the Greek: "Before the morning star I begat thee²." The Jews against whom he wrote probably employed this Version of the passage; for we find Tertullian refuting their opinion that Hezekiah is signified³, because he was born before the dawn of day.

At whatever time the Alexandrian Version came to be generally rejected by the Jews, we find that the purity of the copies used by the Christians, and the genuineness of certain prophecies alleged by them, in these controversies continued to be disputed by them, whilst the Christians charged them with a dishonest treatment of the sacred text. Thus Origen, in his commentary on Jeremiah, attributes the omission of the first four verses of Jer. xvii., which were wanting in the copies of the Septuagint, to the carelessness or perfidy of the later Jews, and complained

¹ *Irenæus*, Lib. iv. 25. One of the passages which Morinus referred to.

² πρὸ Ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά με.
³ *Adv. Marcionem*, v. 9.

that many copies had been corrupted by them. In his commentary on St Matthew he says: "The Jews of the present day in their arguments do not openly repudiate the prophecies, but in effect and in secret they reject them, and are proved to disbelieve them, for if they had truly believed Moses and the prophets, they would have attended to the words of prophecy and believed in Jesus: but whilst they disbelieve Him, they disbelieve them also, and keep the word of prophecy confined as it were in a prison, and mutilate it, and keep it a dead letter, broken up and incomplete, since they do not understand it."

The charges of interpolation made by the Jews against Christians seem to have led Origen to inquire diligently into the state of the copies of the Alexandrian Version, and to have recourse to the Original, and other versions which had been made from it, to correct the text. Hence it is argued, that though he suspected the Jews of unfair dealing with the prophecies, and makes a similar charge to that of Justin, in his work against Celsus, he evidently preferred the Original to the Alexandrian Version, and had recourse to it as the only remedy, on account of the corrupt state of the Greek copies. Epiphanius considered¹ that the variations of the Septuagint from the Original were of no importance, but that Origen found it necessary to undertake the work to stop the mouths of the Jews.

It would require much more time and space to enter fully into the influence of the Septuagint upon the Jewish controversy in later times, or trace it in the writings of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. St Chrysostom, besides a controversial treatise directly composed against the Jews, constantly alludes to their misapplication of the prophecies in his Commentaries and other writings, and charges them with substituting for the Septuagint, whose antiquity entitled it to a high respect,

¹ *De Pond. et Mens. Liber.*

other versions by later authors, in which the language of the prophets was designedly veiled in obscurity¹. St Jerome also, whilst he depreciated the authority of the original authors of the Alexandrian Version, and certainly preferred the Hebrew text, occasionally brought similar charges against the later Jews; for instance, he suspected them of adding the words "by God" to the curse in Deut. xxi. that they might have more ground for cavilling at Christ's death². And here it will be necessary to close this inquiry into the nature of the influence of the Septuagint upon the Jewish controversy. It is one of great interest, inasmuch as the accuracy of the Version itself was one of the subjects of dispute. In the great multiplication of copies which followed upon the spread of Christianity, it is not surprising that many corruptions and interpolations, and additions of Apocryphal books disfigured the text of many of the copies in general use. For the same seems to have happened to the books of the Jews: for the copies of the Greek Version were not preserved in the same purity, as the Hebrew Books were, because the former were in a language familiar to all, whilst the latter could be studied only by a few. But with the Christians the estimation of the Greek books was rendered higher and more permanent from their close connection with the inspired Greek Text of the New Testament. Hence they were bold to charge the Jews with perfidy, when they found that they would not admit the genuineness of the text from which they quoted. They were also provoked by the various subterfuges and forced interpretations, to which the Jews resorted, to escape the evidence alleged against them. Whilst these considerations seem to excuse the hastiness with which some of these charges were made by the Christians, they do not

¹ *Hom. iv. on Matth. i.*

² Morinus brings other examples

from the works of Jerome: *Mic. v.*,
Deut. xxvii., *Isa. xlix.*

justify the opinions of Morinus and others, who endeavoured to throw doubts upon the fact of the Jews having preserved their Hebrew copies with scrupulous reverence and pious care. These Hebrew books were hardly brought into the controversy at all as far as we can trace the progress of it in early times: the question was not for the most part between the Greek and the Hebrew, but between the ancient and modern Greeks; between the elders in the reign of Ptolemy who wrote free from prejudice, and certain Jews and Judaizing heretics¹ who attempted to supersede the much-reverenced Version of antiquity by new Versions compiled under the influence of controversy, which must to a considerable extent have hindered their impartial judgment.

In the relation of Christianity to Judaism, the influence of the Septuagint Version is obvious and important, as it was intimately connected with all the subjects of dispute. But with respect to the assaults upon the religion by Pagans, and the answers of Christian Apologists, its influence could not be so direct, as in the controversies where the Version was the common ground of argument, or where the accuracy of the renderings was a subject of dispute. It is also conjectured² that before the time of the Propagation of Christianity, very little was known of the Jewish Scriptures by the Pagans generally; and that after the reception of the Version into the Alexandrian Library, it must have been allowed to lie there in great obscurity, for none of the Greek or Latin writers now extant have taken any notice of it. For when they wrote about the Jews and their history and religion, they gave accounts so widely different from the Sacred History, that it is plain that they never could have studied the Old Testament, or known anything of it. This was no doubt

¹ Pearsoni *Præfatio Parænetica* II. p. 258.
in *Ed. LXX. Minor Works*, Vol.

² Prideaux's *Connections*.

partly due to the exclusiveness of the Jews themselves, who after they had presented one copy to the King's Library, kept and confined all other copies of it to their own use, either for public reading in the Synagogues, or for private use at home. And so the Version continued to remain in obscurity, until the time that the Gospel was preached to the Gentiles: then the missionaries, wherever they went, carried this Version with them, and so copies of it came to be dispersed, into the hands of all that desired it. Hence¹ many of the Pagan writers after our Saviour's time, such as Celsus, Porphyry, and others, became well acquainted with the Old Testament Scriptures, and together with the New Testament Books they made them their objects of attack. Celsus in his *Λόγος Ἀληθής*, published, it is said, in the reign of Hadrian, attacked both the Jewish and Christian religions; and reproached the Christians for holding a belief which had its origin in Judaism. Hence the writings of Moses were a favourite point of attack; and he cavilled at the doctrines of a special Providence in the Fall and the Redemption, asserting that God made His work perfect once for all, and had no need to add any further perfection to it. He also introduces a Jew disputing with a Christian on the common ground of the Jewish prophecies, and though Origen intimates that his knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures was not sufficiently accurate for this mode of treating the subject, he must have studied the Septuagint Version, at least the earlier books, for he made the history of Creation an object of attack, as inconsistent with the Platonic theories, which appeared to him more philosophical and enlightened; and intimates that Moses derived most of his teaching from the Egyptians.

¹ *Prideaux's Connections.*

The Old Testament Scriptures were also attacked by Porphyry, the other celebrated adversary of Christianity, who, like Celsus, became acquainted with them through the Septuagint, and solely through that Version. In his work against the Christians in fifteen books, he attacked both the Scriptures themselves and the modes of interpretation of them, and especially the Allegories of Origen¹. As Celsus has come down to us as the assailant of the books of Moses, so Porphyry is more known from his attacks upon the prophets, and especially the prophet Daniel. "His twelfth book against Christianity he directed against this prophecy, maintaining² that it was written by a contemporary of Antiochus Epiphanes, who recounted past events, as if he was predicting them as future; and so his main argument was that all that related to the times subsequent to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes was false, and that the predictions concerning the end of the world were fulfilled during that reign by events having some resemblance to the prophecies. He also maintained that it must have been originally written in Greek, and that it was no part of the genuine Hebrew Scriptures, because he found in the words of Daniel to the elders in the History of Susanna, ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίστου σχίσαι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίνου πρίσαι³, where the form of words indicated a Greek original. To this argument Eusebius and Apollinaris answered that the stories of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon were not contained in the Hebrew, but were part of the prophecy of Habakkuk, the son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi; for in the title of Bel and the Dragon in the Septuagint the following words were found: 'There was a certain man, a

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 19.

² St Hieronymi *Præfat. ad Comm. in Daniele Prophetam.*

³ To the elder, who said that he saw Susanna under a mastick-tree (σχίστος), Daniel answers that the

angel of the Lord is ready to cleave (σχίσαι) thee in two: to the other, who mentioned the holm-tree (πρίνος), Daniel answers that the angel will saw thee (πρίσαι) in two.

priest, Daniel by name, son of Abda, who conversed with the king of Babylon;' whereas the prophet Daniel like the three children were of the tribe of Judah." From this account of St Jerome there can be no doubt that the book of Daniel which Porphyry attacked was the book as it stood in the copies of the Septuagint, with the addition of the Apocryphal histories. This Version had however been found to be too faulty for general use in Christian Churches; and on this account the Version of Theodotion had been introduced into the Greek Bibles instead of it; from the same Version Origen also supplied that which was defective in the Septuagint, when he compiled his *Hexapla*. Besides Celsus and Porphyry, the Emperor Julian also made the Old Testament an object of attack. According to Jerome¹, he laid hold upon the quotations from the Septuagint in the New Testament, and accused the sacred writers of misapplying and misquoting the words of the prophets.

As the Version was attacked by the pagan philosophers, it was employed and cited by the Christian apologist to confirm the truth of the religion by testimonies derived from the sacred books of their adversaries the Jews. Justin Martyr in his first *Apology* gives the account of the origin of the Septuagint, which was received in his time, and thus introduces the argument from prophecy, which constitutes an important part of his treatise. He urges that when he brought evidence for the truth of Christianity from the books translated in the reign of Ptolemy, he was employing authorities which were respected by the enemies of Christians who had lately in the time of Barchochabas persecuted them, and endeavoured to force them to abjure their faith. With this view he quotes the prophecies relating to the coming of Christ, the rejection of the Jewish nation, and the calling of the

¹ *Epist. LVII. ad Pammachium.*

Gentiles. As the Gentiles as well as the Jews regarded the cross with contempt and scorn, he endeavours to prove to the Gentiles also that prophecy was fulfilled in the mode of death which our Lord suffered, and cites the twenty-second Psalm from the Septuagint in his *Apology*, as well as in his *Dialogue*. He also has a strange argument about the figure of the cross, to support which he quotes the words of Lam. iv. 20, πνεῦμα ἀπὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Κύριος, which as they stand in the LXX. seem to favour such a prophetic interpretation; making it to be Jehovah the Messiah instead of the Messiah of Jehovah. Whilst thus employing the Septuagint for the argument from prophecy, he produces some other passages from the same source, to prove that pagan writers and philosophers derived some of their ideas from the language of the Old Testament. Thus he considered that the Ἔρεβος of the Greek poets corresponded to the ἄβυσσος of the Septuagint in Gen. i. 2¹.

The influence of the Septuagint may be traced in a similar way in other apologetic writers. The books of Origen against Celsus contain answers to objections alleged against the Old Testament Scriptures, the nature of some of which has been noticed before; and many of his arguments are copiously illustrated by passages from the Psalms and Prophets². Origen and Justin Martyr made more use of the Septuagint and the argument from prophecy than other Apologists, some of whom applied themselves rather to expose the evils of pagan superstition, and therefore dwelt less on the evidences from the Jewish Scriptures. Others, like Clement of Alexandria, sought to convince the unbelievers, not by arguments from prophecy

¹ *Apol.* c. 59. Others, however, suppose that he derived Ἔρεβος from the Hebr. עֲרֵב in Gen. i. 5.

² *e. g.* Lib. vi. where Ps. lxxviii. 11, is quoted according to the Sep-

tuagint: Κύριος δώσει ρῆμα τοῖς εὐαγγελιζομένοις δυνάμει πολλῇ, applying it to the power of God manifested in the preaching of the Gospel.

or miracles, but by proving¹ that Christianity was the only true and sound philosophy which was capable of improving the dispositions and practice of mankind. In such writings the influence of the Septuagint cannot be so apparent as in the *Civitas Dei* of St Augustine, where the writer reviewed the events of the Old Testament history with a view to answer the objections and cavils of the enemies of the truth. Accordingly we find the received account of the Septuagint repeated in this work, and it is asserted that the same Spirit who was in the prophets when they spake², was in the Seventy when they interpreted. The differences of the Septuagint and the Hebrew about the fall of Nineveh are discussed in the same book, the writer supposing that as both were Divine in their character, the contradictions must be explained in a manner similar to that which explained the difference in the accounts of the Evangelists.

As the local extent of the influence of the Version is to be found by ascertaining the degree to which the Greek language and literature was diffused in the world at the time of the Christian era, so the way in which it influenced the progress of Christianity is to be observed by tracing its relation to the arguments by which unbelievers, both Jews and Gentiles, were converted to the truth, the cavils of adversaries refuted, and converts confirmed in the faith. This is the way in which the direct influence of the Version upon the progress of Christianity can be traced in the external history of the Church, beginning from its first foundation, when the Jews received the first offer of salvation through Christ, and continued as Churches were planted in all the countries where the Greek language was spoken. From thence its influence spread further, among those who employed the Latin language; for it

¹ Kaye's *Clement of Alexandria*.

² 8th Aug. *Civ. Dei*, xviii. 43; *De Consensu Evang.* Lib. ii.

appears that even the Latins, when they brought authorities from the Old Testament, generally gave a literal rendering of the Septuagint. Whilst thus estimating the general importance of the Version as a Greek Version, it appeared to be necessary to notice some of the peculiar renderings contained in it, as instances of the way in which arguments were affected by the particular Version which is under consideration.

PART II.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT CONSIDERED IN ITS RELATION TO THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

On the universal respect for the Septuagint.

Firma est autem, et non ficta, et sola vera, quæ secundum nos est fides, manifestam ostensionem habens ex his Scripturis, quæ interpretatæ sunt illo modo quo prædiximus: et Ecclesiæ annuntiatio sine interpolatione.
—*St IRENEUS, Hær. Lib. III.*

AMONGST the causes to which the high reverence paid by Christians to this Version may be attributed, the two following appear to be the most important: *First*, the tradition of the Hellenistic Jews concerning its origin. Those Jews who became converts to Christianity would retain their belief in it, as it was employed and read alike in the Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. By this means the account of its inspiration given by Philo and Josephus would become generally accepted by Christian converts, first by the Jews, and then through them the Gentiles would also become acquainted with it. *Secondly*, a high authority would naturally be attached to the Version by Gentile converts, because it was the medium by which the Old Testament Scriptures had been delivered to them

from the first, by the Apostles and their successors, as a part of the canon of truth, especially as an additional weight was given to it by the fact that many passages quoted from the law and the prophets in the inspired writings corresponded with it. It was the Version from which they derived the name or title of Christ, by which they constantly spake of our Lord¹; and hence the very name of Christian had the same origin. The veneration which arose out of the use which the first preachers of the Gospel made of it, appears in the early Fathers; Irenæus compares the inspiration of the seventy elders who were sent from Jerusalem to Ptolemy, to that of Ezra, who was inspired by the Almighty to restore to their former integrity the Scriptures which had been corrupted or lost during the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity². By the evidence of the Scriptures so rendered the Church had established her doctrines: the Apostles themselves had first employed the Version, and Apostolical tradition confirmed its value, and sanctioned its use in all the Churches in which the Greek language was spoken. Irenæus seems to speak too generally of the use of the Version in all the places in which the Apostles throughout their writings referred to the Old Testament: but it has been observed³ that he was right in the observation that Peter, John, Matthew and Paul, and the other writers, all alike followed it in numerous passages cited from the Scriptures; and there can be little doubt that many of the ancients saw

¹ One of the charges made by Philastrius against the version of Aquila, was the substitution of "unctus" for "Christus" in the prophecies.

² This opinion was commonly entertained by ancient Christian writers, and it was thus that they proposed to account for the occurrence of quotations from Prophets in the

New Testament, which could not be found in any of the books which had come down to them. So St Chrysostom (*Hom. vii. in 1 Cor.*), who seems to have been unable to identify the words as cited by St Paul in 1 Cor. ii. 9, with Isa. lxi. 4.

³ Pearson's *Profatia Parametion* in *Ed. LXX.*

in their use of it the direction of the Holy Spirit, and the fulfilment of the purpose of the Almighty.

It was then not merely a fable originated by the Hellenists that led to the universal respect paid to the Version: the early writers were strongly influenced by the *traditional authority* which they attached to it: they believed that as received from the inspired teachers of religion, and handed down by their immediate successors, it had received the sanction of the same Holy Spirit who had inspired the original authors of those sacred books which it interpreted. On the other hand, this consideration would make them more ready to give credit to the story of Aristeas, and accordingly, we find it repeated in the Apologies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, as well as in the works of Irenæus. This story, after being recorded in the work ascribed to Aristeas, and repeated by Philo and Josephus, with some slight variations, received some further additions when it was handled by Christian writers; and the tradition that it was executed by Divine inspiration in the island of Pharos continued to receive credit among Christians long after the Hellenistic Jews ceased to respect it. The strong evidence of the traditional authority attached to it by the universal Church led writers of later times to defend the belief of its inspiration. Besides the learned Jesuit Morinus, a writer, John Gregorie (*Works*, Oxford, 1684) undertook to defend not only the inspiration of the Version, but also the story of the cells. There appeared to him to be a kind of solemn character in the place described, the island, and the tower pointing to heaven. He then attempts to establish the following three assertions:—
“1. That the History of the Septuagint, which now goeth abroad under the name of Aristeas, is not the entire work of that Aristeas who lived in the reign of Ptolemy. 2. That the true Aristeas had the passage about the cells. 3. That Josephus left it out, for the same reason that induced him,

to omit the miraculous passages of Scripture, to give his antiquities credit with his Gentile readers." Among the ancient writers who maintain the miraculous origin besides those already mentioned, the names of Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Philastrius, and St Augustine deserve notice.

✱

Eusebius transcribed the accounts of Philo and Josephus. St Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechetical Lectures repeats the history of the cells, whilst he distinctly excludes the greater part of the Apocryphal Books, which he believed were not contained in the version which was executed in the reign of Ptolemy on the island of Pharos. Epiphanius also in a similar passage distinguishing between the Canonical and Apocryphal Books, maintains the Inspiration of the Version, and expresses his belief in the story of Aristeeas, with the addition, the elders being confined two and two, and not altogether separate. Of the last two Fathers, Cyril probably employed Origen's corrected edition of the Septuagint: for according to Jerome there were three editions employed in his time in the East. Constantinople, Asia, and Antioch used the copies¹ approved by Lucian the Martyr; Alexandria and Egypt the edition of Hesychius; the intermediate provinces the copies received in Palestine, which Origen revised, and Eusebius and Pamphilus introduced into general use².

¹ Stⁱ Hieronymi *Prolog. in Paralipomena*.

² In the Prolegomena to Grabe's Edition of the LXX. Oxford, 1707, a third cause for the universal respect for it is noticed: the fact that it existed alone and undisputed in its authority for 400 years, from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the reign of Hadrian, and that a period of no ordinary importance as regards both Christians and Jews. The dispersion of the Jews caused it to be widely promulgated in dif-

ferent parts of the world; and some of the most learned authors of the Jewish nation used and respected it. According to Philo its composition was celebrated by an annual festival. To Christians, those 400 years included the time of our Lord's sojourn upon earth, the preaching of the Gospel, the conversion of Jews, Hellenists, and proselytes; and throughout this period, the Version had retained its authority unshaken.

The belief in the original inspiration of the Version may have been retained by those who supposed that in course of time so many alterations, interpolations, omissions and additions of Apocryphal books and portions of books had corrupted the text, that many of the copies that had come down to them differed widely from the true text composed by the Seventy, and delivered by the Apostles to the Churches. Accordingly later writers, like Cyril and Epiphanius, carefully exclude the books which they believed to be apocryphal from the Version which was inspired according to the tradition. Much debate has arisen about the opinions of Origen and Jerome about the authority of the Version. Both were probably charged by their contemporaries with presumption in attempting to question the accuracy of the sacred Text; and the opinions of both respecting the authority of the books as preserved by the Jews seem to have undergone a change, which was due to the more accurate knowledge gained in their critical labours. We have seen that Origen followed some of his predecessors in charging the Jews with dishonesty in their mode of treating the prophecies of Christ. He must however have been afterwards convinced that a reference to the Hebrew Text was the only sure remedy for the corrupt state of most of the Greek copies then in use. Epiphanius who believed the Version to be Divine, maintained that Origen undertook his labour, not because it was necessary, but to stop the mouths of the Jews. It has also been insisted, that by his care to distinguish by appropriate marks the passages which he introduced from Theodotion to fill up the deficiencies of the Greek copies, it was evidently his intention not to confound these insertions with the genuine text¹. It may at least be inferred that he did not intend to supersede the Alexandrian Version by a new version of his own. Yet at the same time it is clear that he was con

¹ Morinus, § 10.

vinced that the Greek copies were in a far more corrupt state than the Hebrew. Jerome's opinions on Origen and his labours seem to have undergone a change; and this partly accounts for the difference of sentiments about the Septuagint, which appears in his works. Thus at one time he was deeply impressed with admiration for his labours to correct the Greek text of the Old Testament: at other times he expresses his opinion that much of the lamentable confusion among the various copies of the Greek Version was due to Origen, because he corrected the old edition by supplying its deficiencies from other versions, especially Theodotion's: and in one of his letters to St Augustine, he expresses his surprise that Augustine should read the Septuagint, not as it is in itself, but as it was corrupted by Origen, who made up a mixture of several Translations combined.

Morinus¹ and others laid much stress on the judgment of Jerome, which he is supposed to have expressed before he had recourse to the Jews to become acquainted with the Hebrew language. He certainly speaks highly of the Septuagint in some places, and perhaps also suspects the honesty of the Jews. But in none of these passages which are alleged, is there any reference to the Hebrew Books. As it has been observed before, the comparison is not between the Septuagint and the Hebrew original, but between ancient and modern Greek versions, and especially to condemn that of Aquila. He certainly condemns the version of Aquila, and so do most of the ancients: he calls him 'contentiosus interpres,' for his useless labour to render words by their etymologies. He evidently prefers the Septuagint to any other Greek version. Thus in one place he says: It is not my object to discover the notions

¹ Father Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament* questions the accuracy of Morinus on these points.

Also D. Joh. Gottlob. Carpzovius, *de editione LXX virali*.

of Aquila and Symmachus, or why Theodotion takes a middle course between the Old and the New. I admit that to be the true interpretation which the Apostles sanctioned. He also charges the Jews with altering certain passages, or suspects them of not preserving their copies faithfully: thus following the opinions of Justin and Irenæus. Some of these sentiments he probably uttered before he was enabled to form his judgment from an accurate knowledge of the state of the Hebrew text.

He did not always venture to deny the Inspiration of the Version. In one place he seems to admit that the interpretations may have been inspired in some sense, though not as the authors of the Original were. "I do not condemn or find fault with the Seventy," he says, "but I confidently prefer the Apostles to all of them." He observes¹ that the Apostles were the interpreters of Christ, who was far greater than Moses or the Prophets of whom the Seventy were the interpreters, and that if these were inspired, they thus rank in the lowest class of inspired authors, to be compared perhaps with those disciples of the Apostles who received the gift of interpretation of tongues. From other expressions² which he uses, it appears that he thought, that even if there had been inspiration originally, the value of the edition had been greatly diminished by its first purity being corrupted by various copyists, so that the Septuagint, which they now possessed, was not the Version which had at the beginning of the Gospel confirmed the faith of the newly founded Churches. As the condition of the copies in use had become so corrupt, he was convinced that respect for the first compilers ought not to hinder him from choosing between two remedies; to arrive at the true reading from comparison of numerous copies; or to attempt

¹ *St Hieronymi Prolog. in Genesin.*

² *Prolog. in Paralipomena.* From

his answers to the charges of Rufinus, where he quotes passages of his other writings.

to execute a new version from the original; in order to do this, he must expose himself to the artifices by which the Jews, whilst imparting their information, sought to conceal the truth. When, however, he admitted that the Seventy were inspired at all, it was only when pressed to express his opinion by St Augustine or Ruffinus who were offended by the charge of inaccuracy, which he had brought against the interpreters. He professes an attachment to the Version¹ because he had studied it in his youth, and afterwards made it the subject of his public discourses; and from thence the Psalms and other portions of Scripture were extracted which were sung or read daily in the churches.

In the time of St Jerome there is clear evidence of the universal respect paid to the Alexandrian Version. It was felt that the same reverence was due to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; both had been received in the same language from the earliest times; and when the authority of the Version, by which the Old Testament Scriptures had been handed down from the Apostolic age, was thus questioned by St Jerome, it is not surprising that it should have called forth the strong opposition, which we find expressed in the letters which Augustine addressed to Jerome on the subject, in the name of all the African Churches. Here he appeals to the use made of the Septuagint by the writers of the New Testament. St Jerome in answer expresses his disbelief in the story of the cells, because it was not mentioned by Josephus or Aristæas, but admits that the Version deserves the general respect of the Church, on account of its antiquity, and its use by the Apostles. He seems, however, to be convinced that it was not to be depended upon in all cases, and he was led to this conclusion perhaps by discovering that the quotations in the New Testament differed from the LXX. in some passages.

¹ Lib. II. contra Ruffinum.

St Jerome also states that the Version of Aquila¹ was generally rejected by the Church. This is confirmed by the account of an older writer, Philastrius, in his treatise on heresies. "There are certain heretics," he says, "who follow the Jews in their rejection of the version of the Seventy-two saints, and adopt the version of Aquila, who composed his version many years later." The two great charges which he brings against this version, are the omission of the name Christ, and the substitution of *veavls* for *παρθένος* in Isai. vii. He calls those who preferred this version "heretics," as departing from the universal practice of the Church, which had always received and retained without doubting the version upon which the Seventy-two Elders agreed. Then he repeats the account of the cells without mentioning the island of Pharos. He also expresses his belief, that the version being received into a temple at Alexandria, was studied by orators, poets, philosophers and historians, who however falsified the doctrines of the Scriptures in the teaching of their own schools. "Another sect," he says, "preferred a version by thirty interpreters to that of the Septuagint." These thirty followed Aquila in many particulars; but the heresy consisted in deserting that version of the Seventy-two Elders, who, he believed, interpreted out of a firm faith in the doctrine of the Trinity, and furnished the Catholic Church with arguments for the confirmation of the truth. Another sect preferred a version by six men to that of the Seventy-two, and a fourth were guilty of adopting the versions of Theodotion and Symmachus. A fifth sect had a version which they said had been discovered in a cask after the Captivity, having escaped the destruction of the city by fire. Philastrius appears to be chargeable with credulity, and was certainly

¹ Theodoret also says of Aquila that he translated the Scriptures of the Old Testament into Greek, not with faithfulness and sincerity, but

with the depraved and perverse purpose (*καμπύλῳ καὶ διστραμμένῳ λόγισμῳ*) of obscuring the testimonies which confirm the doctrine of Christ.

precipitate¹ in his judgment of some of the different shades of opinion he met with, but his words give the clearest testimony to the universal respect paid to the Septuagint, and to the tradition about its origin. It may also be observed that he, like the other writers, referred to the two grounds for this respect, which may be termed the Jewish and Ecclesiastical tradition. It is possible that St Jerome may have diminished the weight of the first of these, but the belief in the Apostolical authority of the Version could not be shaken so easily. For though he pointed out many passages in which the writers of the New Testament departed from it in quoting prophecy, the antiquity which was justly claimed for it gave it a superiority over any other version; and thus the reverence paid to it was of the same kind as the respect for the Catholic traditions concerning the doctrine of the Church, in which the novelty of an opinion was always a presumption against its truth. On the other hand, the prevalence of the opinion was owing to the fact that there were very few who could take more than this *primâ facie* view of the question, or inquire accurately into the condition of the copies commonly in use. If, however, Philastrius expressed the general opinion of the Version and its translators, it is not strange that St Jerome should have met with a strong opposition from the prejudices of his contemporaries, when he asserted that the Christian interpreter had an advantage over the Seventy², who, living before the coming of Christ, could only express in ambiguous terms the things of which they were ignorant; or when he said that they³ purposely concealed the mysteries of their faith in obscure terms that they might not fall into the profane

¹ This is the judgment of Philastrius' work in Cave's *Historia Literaria*, and also in Jer. Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*. He seems to have travelled about collecting

different forms of belief. He registered 128 variations of opinion which he called heresies.

² *Proleg. in Genesin.*

³ *Proleg. in Esaiam.*

hands of the Gentiles, or the pearls be cast before swine. In fact, in the Prologue to Genesis he adopts the directly opposite view to that of Philastrius, and thought that the Seventy studiously concealed the prophecies of the coming of Christ, and the indications of a plurality of persons in the Godhead, that they might gratify Ptolemy's regard for the philosophy of Plato and the doctrine of the unity of God. He also expresses his belief in the account of Josephus, that the Seventy interpreted the Pentateuch only, on the ground that the version of those books was more faithful to the Hebrew than the rest. The charge of concealing the prophecies and doctrinal revelations against the translators of the prophets is repeated more than once in his commentary on Isaiah, and in one place he finds fault with them for introducing the word "centaurs," which belonged only to pagan fables. Then his opinion that the authority of an inspired work could not be claimed for the copies of the Greek Bible employed in his time, was confirmed by the testimony of Origen to the fact that in the case of the Book of Daniel the Alexandrian Version was so full of omissions and interpolations, that the authorities of the Church generally adopted the version of Theodotion in preference. His examination of the laborious work of Origen, of which he more than once expresses his admiration, must have opened his eyes to the corrupt state into which the text had fallen, especially in the books of Job, Esther, and Daniel; the first of which was full of omissions, and the last two had received apocryphal additions from Jewish traditions. We have seen that he suspected the Jews of corrupting the text in a few places; but besides that he had little confidence in the present copies, his views about the origin of the Version must have differed widely from those which were generally received in his time.

St Augustine adhered to the ancient belief. In his

letters to Jerome he insists on the authority which the version ought to have, because it was employed by the Apostles and had been universally received in the Church. He argues strongly against those who would attribute error or false statements to the Sacred writers. Where the Seventy differed from the Hebrew, he believed that this diversity was by Divine appointment, and to be compared with the apparent contradictions in the accounts of the four Evangelists; the sense being the same, or at least similar, when the forms of expression differed¹. The story of the cells he did not accept as certain; but if not true, the consent of the Seventy ought to carry great weight with it². He questioned the expediency of introducing a Latin version, which contradicted in any way the Greek copies, which were commonly read and respected in the Churches of the East. He says, "There have been other interpreters who have translated the Scriptures out of the Hebrew into the Greek, but the Church has received this version of the Septuagint as if it was the only one, and the Christians among the Greek nations use it, so that most of them know not of the existence of any other version. Out of the version of the Septuagint was also made the Latin version, which the Latin Churches accept."

There are however writers, who seem to ascribe to the Septuagint no higher authority than they give to the other versions, or even prefer that of Aquila. In the *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae* in the works of Athanasius³, six of these versions are enumerated chronologically with a brief account of each, the Septuagint being called the work of the Seventy-two Elders sent by Eleazar at the request of

¹ S. August. *de Consens. Evang.* lib. II.

² S. August. *de Civitate Dei*, xviii. 43; *de Doctrina Christiana*.

³ Cave (*Historia Literaria*) places this work amongst the Dubia. If the respect for the Septuagint was

a badge of orthodoxy as Philastrius makes it, this hardly appears like a work of the great opponent of Arianism. Others have questioned its genuineness. So Hammond, note on John viii. 1—11.

Ptolemy. No expression is used to condemn the version of Aquila, such as Philastrius employed in his zeal against Arianism.

This account of the six versions was transcribed with a few additions by Joseppus, a Greek author of the tenth century, who went so far as to commend the work of Aquila in preference to the Septuagint, on the ground of the want of acquaintance with the Greek language, which he supposes was the fault of "the seventy-two wise men."

St Chrysostom does not mention the miraculous part of the tradition about the Septuagint. He relates¹ that when Ptolemy was collecting books for his library at Alexandria, he was anxious to have the Jewish Scriptures also, and therefore invited some of the Jews of Jerusalem to translate them into Greek; and thus a king who was not a worshipper of the true God, but of idols, became the providential instrument by which these books became known to the world. In another place², in speaking of the controverted passage in Isai. vii., he says, "The authority of the LXX. is to be preferred, because this version is much more ancient, being composed before the coming of Christ: for the judgment of the Seventy is free from all suspicion, for it is confirmed by its antiquity, and by the number of those who engaged in the work, and their common consent concerning the interpretation; whilst the modern Jews translate under the influence of their hostility to us."

In the East, after the time of Epiphanius, it seems that the story of the miraculous origin was either forgotten, or at least ceased by degrees to be generally accepted, as the version itself was depreciated. In the West, perhaps through the influence of the writings of St Augustine, it was probably remembered for a longer period; for we find traces of a vague tradition of the inspiration in the

¹ *Hom. IV. in Cap. I. Genes.*

² *Hom. v. in Matth.*

8th Homily of Anselm, where he comments upon the genealogy of Cainan the son of Arphaxad. He says that the Evangelist took this interpretation, which is not found in the Hebrew in Genesis, from the edition of the Seventy interpreters. "Let not any believer suppose that the Seventy translators erred in this passage: let him believe without doubt, that they inserted what they knew to be true, and supplied what Moses omitted. For the Holy Spirit would not have inserted this in the Gospel unless it was certainly true. For the Seventy Elders themselves held office in the synagogue from the time of Moses, and had received of the spirit of Moses, and had learned the law by tradition from Moses himself: therefore, when anything was omitted in the Scriptures and could be supplied, they were able to interpret from their own experience." Strange as it seems that a writer of Anselm's learning and ability, who was also actually brought into contact with Greeks in the controversy about the nature of the third Person, should have believed in the identity of the seventy-two interpreters and the seventy elders of Moses, it certainly shews that the belief in the Inspiration of the Alexandrian Version had been preserved in the Western Church: perhaps it obtained credit generally among the followers and admirers of St Augustine. We have seen that there existed in the mind of St Augustine a high reverence for the traditional authority of the Version; and yet the labours of Jerome seem to have opened his eyes to the fact that there were great variations and corruptions in most of the copies then employed in the Churches; but he desired to see the text of the Septuagint corrected or revised, not relinquished for the Hebrew. Before the time of Jerome the whole of the Western Church¹ adhered to the Alexandrian Version. After his time the old Latin versions from the Septuagint were gradually superseded either by

¹ Father Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament*,

the revised edition of the Old Version which Jerome made by the help of the Greek copy in Origen's *Hexapla*, or by the version which he afterwards executed from the Original Hebrew. In order to ascertain the influence of the Septuagint in the West after Jerome's time, it would be necessary to discover how far Jerome's new version was adopted, and whether the Vulgate edition of later times was wholly his, or was composed partly of the old Latin Version, which was made from the LXX.

In the East, we have seen that there are signs of a decline of the respect for the Version among the Greek Fathers after the time of Origen. Those who retained their respect for the original Septuagint may have felt uncertain whether among the various editions in the possession of the Church, the old Version continued to exist in its primitive purity. All the ancient Churches of the East followed the Septuagint except some of the Syrian Churches, who had two translations, one from the Hebrew and the other from the Greek. But after the time of Origen the history of the Septuagint, and of the respect for it in the Church, becomes confused on account of the various editions employed in different Churches.

In making a true estimate¹ of the reverence entertained by antiquity for the Alexandrian Version, the opinions of the Greek Fathers evidently deserve a prior consideration, because they constantly read and employed it, whilst the

¹ The different views about the Septuagint entertained by the Fathers ought not to be omitted in any investigation of the judgment of antiquity concerning inspiration, which has unhappily been made the subject of controversy in the present time. There seem to be three forms of belief: 1. Jerome and Joseppus considered it to be merely human work. 2. Chrysostom saw a special Providential direction in it, such as would secure them from falling into

errors of importance. 3. Epiphanius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and many others, ascribed to them a Divine wisdom and extraordinary gift of interpretation leading them to a verbal consent, and making their authority equal to that of the original writers. It would be necessary however to distinguish between the respect for the version, and the reverence for the matter contained in it, or the general belief in the authority of Scripture.

Latin writers probably made use of Latin versions from it. Hence, although most of the eminent Fathers of the Western Church were acquainted with the Greek, and frequently referred to it, the Greek Fathers were the best judges of the value of it. When we find that in spite of the belief in the miraculous origin of the Version, they do not scrupulously adhere to its text, whilst others carefully distinguish between the books contained in the Hebrew Canon, and the books which had been introduced into the volumes of the Greek version, we cannot doubt that the authority of the original was preferred even by those who had the highest respect for the LXX. itself. Hody, who instituted an inquiry into the quotations of the writers of the first five centuries, especially those of Origen and Eusebius of Cæsarea, came to the conclusion that most of them followed the example of the authors of the New Testament, sometimes employing the Greek version, sometimes having recourse to other versions, or even to the Hebrew Original: and in the case of the Book of Daniel, as we have seen, they wholly rejected the Septuagint¹.

There is ample evidence that Origen and Jerome, although to serve the occasion they sometimes spoke respectfully of the LXX., always preferred the Hebrew text, and resorted to it to obtain assistance from it in interpretation. The labours of Origen were devoted to the restoration of the Greek text to a correspondence with the Hebrew, supplying the deficiencies and marking the interpolations; whilst Jerome exposed himself to the general abuse by his preference of the Original. Morinus and others attempted to prove that before he was instructed by the rabbins, he always quoted the LXX. as Divine, and accused the Jews of corrupting their Hebrew copies; but when he expressed such opinions, it was either in ignorance of the Hebrew or of the faults of the Greek

¹ D. Joh. Gottlob. Carpzovius *de Versione LXXviri*.

copies, before he applied himself to the study of the Greek text and the Original; or he repeated some of his former expressions to satisfy the numerous complaints that were made against him, for preferring the books of the enemies of the Church to those which had been received from the Apostles, and constantly used by the Church throughout the world.

CHAPTER II.

On the Versions made from the Septuagint into other Languages, especially the Latin.

**Ὅσῃν ἡλίου ἐφορᾷ γῆν, τοσαύτην ἐπῆλθεν ἡ χάρις αὕτη, καὶ ἡ σταγὼν αὕτη, καὶ ἡ βασις τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπασαν ἐνέπλησε τῆς γνώσεως.—S. CHRYS. in Ps. xliv.*

IN a large proportion of the countries in which the Gospel was first preached, Greek was the prevailing language; for, as we have seen, many of the large maritime towns in the West, as well as in the East, were of Greek origin, and retained their Greek character up to the time of the Christian era. But as the Church was extended among various nations, the Greek Scriptures were translated into different languages; and as the missionaries in most cases came from countries in Asia, or from Greece or Egypt, where the Greek language was spoken, they introduced with the original New Testament the Septuagint Version of the Old, and these were translated into the language of the country. Eusebius, in his oration in praise of Constantine, says that such was the authority of the Books written by the Apostles and Evangelists, that they were translated into the languages both of Greeks and Barbarians throughout the world, and were zealously studied by all nations, and the words that were contained in them were believed to be Divine oracles. Together with these books

the Septuagint was also translated. Theodoret¹ asserted that the books written in the Hebrew tongue were translated into the language not only of the Greeks, but the Romans, Egyptians, Persians, Indians, Armenians, Scythians, and Sauromatæ. It may be that the Hebrew Scriptures were in some cases carried into the far East, but the meaning of Theodoret² is perhaps that they had been first translated into Greek, and afterwards from thence into other languages; as we know to have been the case with the Latin.

St Jerome³ appealed to the versions made into the languages of different nations to shew the spurious character of certain interpolations in the edition of the Greek version which was made by Hesychius and Lucianus: from this it seems that he supposed that many of these versions had been made from the Greek text whilst it remained in its original purity, and before it had become corrupted or interpolated. The fact of the Old Testament being introduced at the same time with the New makes it highly probable that the copies that were carried by the missionaries were all in one language, and that Greek. At that time there would not be many who would be acquainted with the three languages, the two originals, and the language of the country to which they went as missionaries. It is therefore generally stated that the versions to which Chrysostom and other Greek Fathers refer must have been made from the Septuagint, as the Latin versions certainly were. We are not able to trace how far the gift of tongues, miraculously conferred by the imposition of the Apostles, aided the propagation of the Gospel by enabling men without learning to supply their converts with accurate interpretations of the books of the Law and the Prophets.

¹ *Græc. Affect. Curatio*. Disp. v.

² The words of Theodoret, Ἐβραίων γλώττα, appear at first sight to sig-

nify a translation direct from the Hebrew language.

³ *Præfatio in Quatuor Evangelia*.

The probability is that it happened to other nations and languages, as we know it happened to those who spoke the Latin language. Here the Septuagint was received; first, perhaps, because the Western Churches consisted of Greeks, and hence Clement of Rome adopted that version; afterwards because Latin versions were made from it; and of these we find traces in the old Latin Fathers.

It is also asserted¹ that we have almost nothing remaining of these ancient translations, and that those which we have under the name of the Æthiopian, Persian, and some other nations, are of less antiquity than those which the Greek Fathers mention: There was only one exception to this general adherence to the Septuagint, and that was in the Churches of Mesopotamia and the neighbouring regions, where Syriac was commonly spoken. Here they had a Syriac translation made from the Hebrew, certainly not long after the age of the Apostles, and perhaps more ancient. These² Syrians or Chaldæans had two versions, one from the Hebrew and the other from the Septuagint. Gregory Abulpharagius divided the Syrians into Eastern and Western, of whom the former, he said, used the simple translation, or the literal one from the Hebrew, the latter a version from the Greek which was more paraphrastic. It is conjectured that the version from the Hebrew is the most ancient, because the words of St Paul to the Ephesians taken from Ps. lxxviii. "he gave gifts unto men," correspond with it. Some Oriental writers claimed a much greater antiquity for it. The version from the Septuagint would probably be made at the same time that the books of the New Testament were translated, soon after the introduction of Christianity into those parts. The Latin Versions from the Septuagint were numerous, according to St Augustine. They were employed not only in Italy, but

¹ Father Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament*.

² Bingham's *Antiquities*. Father Simon *On the Old Testament*.

also at a very early period in Africa, Gaul, Pannonia, Spain, and other parts of the empire where there were Roman colonies; and in some cases Churches first founded by Greeks afterwards assumed a Latin character. Besides the Latin Versions, we find in later times mention of versions into the barbarous languages of the nations of Western Europe. The missionaries, if Greek, would carry the Septuagint with them; if Roman, some Latin Version from the Septuagint. In the reign of Valens, Ulphilas became the bishop of the Goths living beyond the Danube, and soon after their conversion he is said to have translated into their language all the Scriptures. The versions of the Psalms were most numerous of all, as they were required for use in the Divine service. A translation of the Psalms and New Testament into the Armenian language is said to have been introduced by Chrysostom at the time of his exile in that country.

Among the versions from the Septuagint the most important in the early times were the Latin, as having the most extensive influence upon the progress of Christianity, and on the doctrine of the Church. Before the time of the first preaching of the Gospel, Jewish settlers were numerous at Rome and other towns of Italy and the West. It appears, however, that these generally made use of the Septuagint like their countrymen in Antioch and Alexandria; for we have no account of any version made by them into the Latin language. But according to St Augustine's account, Christians must have shewn their zeal by emulating one another in the composition of Latin Versions; so that any person who could acquire a sufficient knowledge of the two languages, Greek and Latin, obtained the possession of a Greek copy, and endeavoured to translate or interpret it. The Hebrew text was kept by the Jews in their synagogues, and Christians generally had no original, but the Greek translation. Those also who understood

Greek would interpret from it as they thought good, without relying upon the common translation used by the people. This has been supposed by some writers to be the meaning of Jerome and Augustine¹, when they said that the Greek interpreters could be numbered, but the Latin ones were innumerable. It is, however, generally agreed that there was one version among the Latins which was more generally respected than the rest: the old Vulgate or commonly received translation. This has been called the 'Itala' from a passage of St Augustine, but as no other mention of this name is found, attempts have been made to alter it to 'illa,' or 'usitata.' Perhaps as the existence of the name Itala is questioned, it will be better to term it the "old Vulgate" or *κωνη* edition of the Latin Bible. An attempt was made by Nobilius in the sixteenth, and Morinus in the seventeenth century, to collect this old Vulgate from Commentaries and other works of the Fathers²; though it seems that they did not always follow any version exactly, but took the liberty to translate anew from the Septuagint the places which they quoted, or to prefer other versions which they thought were better. The same Father quotes the same passage differently, and generally there is a want of exact uniformity in the quotations. It is, however, made out that there was a common fault to this and the other Latin Versions. The authors endeavoured to translate word for word from the Septuagint, and to imitate even its barbarisms, so that it is often hardly intelligible; and the interpreter often misconstrued the sense of the Septuagint itself, not having the Hebrew to refer to when he met with equivocal terms. St Jerome in collecting these faults has not done the Septuagint justice; and Pearson has shewn that in some instances he con-

¹ Jerome, *Preface to Joshua*, said that there were as many texts as copies. Cf. *August. de Doctr. Christ.* Lib. II. 15.

² *Critical History of the Old Testament*, by Father Simon of the Oratory.

founded this Latin translation with it, attributing to the Septuagint the faults which the old interpreter committed in the attempt to translate the Greek word for word. Moreover it is probable that this ancient Vulgate, as copies of it were dispersed into different countries, became corrupted by transcribers in the same way as the copies of the Septuagint itself had been. This led Jerome to correct it by consulting the Greek copy of the *Hexapla* of Origen; and in this edition he followed the method of Origen; supplying the omissions and marking these additions with asterisks, whilst the passages in the Latin text which were not in the Hebrew, according to Origen, were marked with obeli.

St Jerome after this made a new translation from the Hebrew, but we cannot suppose that the influence of the Septuagint in the Western Church ceased in the time of Jerome. The two versions, the old and the new Vulgate, disputed precedence in the Church for a long period. In the time of Gregory the Great both were in use; for that Father, in his epistle to Leander, says, that the authority of the Church sanctioned both, and therefore in his quotations he adopted the version which gave the sense which was most applicable to his present purposes. In the Preface to the *Morals on Job*, he expressly states that it is the New Version which he now employs. Even when Jerome's edition came to be more generally respected, it was not entirely accepted; for some books continued to be read according to the ancient Vulgate, and in many places the old translation from the Greek was mixed with it. The Psalter and the portions appointed to be read in the Churches were still retained according to the old Version as they stood in the old Service-books; the use of the Apocryphal Books was continued; according to Ruffinus the Song of the Three Children was sung in the churches upon solemn days; and there were remote parts of the

Western Church, such as the isolated districts of Britain, where the use of the ancient Version still lingered. The version of the Psalms by Jerome was immediately received in the Gallican Church, and was afterwards called the Gallican Psalter, to distinguish it from the old one from the Septuagint, which was termed the Roman Psalter¹. In the other books many translations² have been observed which were condemned by Jerome in his writings and commentaries. Such was 'ferebatur' in Gen. i. 2. The words "Respexit Dominus ad Abel" in Gen. iv. 4, which Jerome would have interpreted according to Theodotion, "The Lord sent fire upon Abel and his sacrifice." The words διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον (Gen. iv. 8) are retained in the Vulgate in the words "Egrediamur foras;" though Jerome, upon reference to the Hebrew, declared them to be superfluous. Yet on the whole the modern Vulgate³ is pronounced to be nearer to the Hebrew than the Septuagint; it is therefore supposed to be the work of Jerome for the most part; but it must have passed a revision in which it was altered or corrected by some other ancient version.

In consequence of the old Latin versions being for the most part extremely literal renderings of the Septuagint, some of the peculiarities of the Alexandrian Version came to be stamped upon all the versions employed in the West. It was observed by Jerome⁴ that there were many words

¹ Mr Grinfield (*Apology for Septuagint*, p. 2) asserts "that our Church has retained the use of the Septuagintal Psalms." This requires a further verification than he has undertaken to give. The version which stands in the Book of Common prayer differs from the LXX. in many and important points. Among these there is the famous passage in Ps. xl. 6; also the suppression of the name "Rock" for God by the LXX. to be noticed hereafter; also great differences of tenses. In Psalm xxviii. 1, where

"Rock" was simply omitted by the LXX. our version has "strength." If the Version is to be traced originally to the LXX. it is corrected by the Hebrew in every point of importance, and so cannot be alleged as an argument for Mr Grinfield's theory. In Ps. cx. 3, our version differs materially from the LXX.

² Whitaker's *Disputation on Scripture*.

³ Father Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament*.

⁴ *Comm. in Epist. ad Ephesios*, Lib. I. cap. i, on the word εὐδοκία.

which could not be translated from Greek into Latin, and others which could not be rendered from the Hebrew into the Greek. When the old Latin interpreters were unable to overcome this difficulty, they resorted to the simple expedient of transcribing the Greek word into their Latin sentence. This was not the only cause of the numbers of Greek words which were introduced into ecclesiastical phraseology in the West; for we find them in the names of the Church, of the ministry, of all things relating to public worship, and the parts of Divine Service. Similarly we find them in the titles of the Books of the Old Testament. The Books of the Pentateuch became known in all parts of the Church by their Alexandrian names, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomium: the Books of Samuel and Kings, first as Basileion, then as Regnorum libri. Thus, in the first book of testimonies against the Jews, Cyprian quotes a passage, "in Basileion libro tertio." The Books of Chronicles were known as Paralipomena. The Books of Psalms and Ecclesiastes retained their Greek names. In the same way Cyprian quotes from Evangelium cata Matthæum, cata Ioannem, etc. It has been observed that the use of *γένεσις* for the *κτίσις κόσμου* betrays the influence of the Egyptian philosophy upon the authors of the version. The way in which the appellations of these books have been perpetuated, being first introduced into the earliest Latin versions, then into the Vulgate, and thence universally adopted in other translations, is one of the most obvious signs of the influence of the Septuagint.

The introduction of Greek words by the old interpreters may be traced in numerous instances. Tertullian appears sometimes to quote from an old Latin version, sometimes to interpret the Greek text, but the renderings are always from the Septuagint, and literal to an extreme. Thus in Genesis (ch. i. 2), *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος* becomes 'invisibilis et incomposita.' The Greek word

'abyssus' is introduced in the same verse; στερέωμα (v. 6), becomes 'firmamentum,' and συναγωγὴν (v. 9), applied to the waters, 'congregationem.' Many other Greek words are taken out of the LXX. Such are 'cetus,' (v. 21), 'paradisus' (ch. ii. 8), and 'ecstasis' (ch. ii. 21), meaning the deep sleep of Adam; the latter, however, being also in one place rendered 'amentia.' In the fourth chapter, στένων καὶ τρέμων, (v. 12), the words of God to Cain, become 'gemens et tremens eris;' and the rest of the account follows the Septuagint word for word. By these Latin versions the word 'angelus' was introduced from the title, Ἄγγελος (Gen. xix. 1), given by the Alexandrian translators to the heavenly host of God, in which the New Testament writers afterwards followed their example.

From thence the Latins took the names of the Jewish feasts, Pascha, Azyma, Pentecoste, neomenice, and Parasceve. The congregation of the Israelites in the wilderness was called Synagoga, following exactly the Greek translation of the Pentateuch. Even the rock that was smitten by Moses retains its Greek appellation, 'petra.' This word 'petra' came into common use in the Latin authors: Isai. viii. 14 was rendered 'petram scandali.' For, the New Testament writers having applied it to Christ, though its sense as applied to God was not known to the Christian writers, they were accustomed to speak of our Lord by that name, rather in reference to His human nature than His Deity. Hence, perhaps, the use of the term in Latin arose. Tertullian also speaks of Christ as "Epherchomenos ille."

In the Psalms the word 'ecclesia' is continued where the Septuagint had employed it before: Ps. lxxvii. 26, lxxxix. 1. In Ps. lxxxi. 12 the poor is delivered 'a dynastá.' In Ps. lxxvii. 2 the Psalmist utters 'parabolam et problemata.' In Ps. lxxxii. 7, as well as in the books of Ezra and Judges, the Gentiles are called 'Allophyli.' The Judges are called 'Critæ.' In Exod. xx. 5 the epithet

'zelotes' is applied to God from the Septuagint; the terms 'idola,' 'idolatria,' are derived from the same source; and in Isaiah the princes of Israel are called 'archontes populi.' In the fifty-second and sixty-first chapters of the Prophet we find the word 'evangelizantis,' and the word 'xenium' is transcribed from the Greek of Hos. x. 6. Tertullian also applies the word 'exomologesis' to Nebuchadnezzar's speech in Dan. iv., which, like some others, may have been known as a technical word in the Church.

These and other instances from the writings of Tertullian sufficiently shew that the influence of the Septuagint in the early ages of the Church was not confined to the Greek Churches; for in passing from thence to consider the early Latin versions, we find most of the peculiarities of the Alexandrian Version continued in them. The titles of the Messiah, the Prophets, angels, and patriarchs, are still retained in their Greek forms, even when interpreted for the benefit of converts to whom the Latin language alone was familiar; in the same way as apostles, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, became known to the world through their Greek titles. These were first expressed literally in the Latinized forms, and then from the Latin they were accommodated to the different languages of Western Europe.

In the quotations of Cyprian we find a similar introduction of Greek terms in a Latinized form. Besides many of those which occur in Tertullian's works¹, the following may be observed. The word employed by the Septuagint about the creation of man, in Gen. ii. 7, was ἐπλασε for the Hebrew יָצַר; and hence the Alexandrians used to speak of Adam as the Protoplast. The verb becomes 'plasmavit' in the Latin Version. In Exodus iv. 11 the word 'mogilalus'² seems to be introduced from some

¹ Paradisus, exomologesis, angelus, idolum, synagoga, Israel, pe-

² μογίλαλος occurs in Isai. xxxv. 6. In Exod. iv. 11, the word is βραβύγλιστος.

Greek copy in the words of God in answer to Moses, when he complained that he was slow to speak. The tabernacle of Israel is called 'tabernaculum martyrii,' God is called 'Deus zelans,' as in Tertullian we found 'zelotes' applied to Him. The deities of the Canaanites are called 'dæmonia.' 'Eleemosyna,' which we find in Tobit, was probably a technical word in general use in the Churches of the East and West. 'Scandalum' is found in Ps. xlix. 20, from the Greek ἐτίθεις σκάνδαλον, "thou slanderest thine own mother's son." His use of Proverbs xiv. 25 is also remarkable, where the ancient Latin Version introduced the Greek word 'martyr.' The words, "A true witness delivereth souls," certainly refer to an ordinary witness in civil causes, or the transactions of common life; but, in consequence of the literal rendering of the Septuagint, it appeared to have the sense of a 'martyr,'—"A faithful martyr delivereth his soul out of evil." Thus it would be compared with the words of our Lord, "He that loseth his life for my sake shall find it:" Matt. x. 39. Again, Cyprian compares these words from the genuine Wisdom of Solomon with the apocryphal book bearing the same title, ch. v. 1, "Then shall the righteous man stand in great boldness before the face of such as have afflicted him, and made no account of his labours." Thus he was led by the Septuagint reading of the words to place them at the head of his evidence from Scripture of the blessedness of martyrdom.

In his quotations from Isaiah, we find in the promise of pardon in chapter i. ver. 18, 'phoeniceum et coccinum' transcribed literally from the Greek; and a few verses before, 'holocaustomata.' Besides the words known as technical terms which were thus transcribed wherever they occurred in the Greek, the old interpreters seem to have had recourse to this method of transcribing or Latinizing Greek words where they found a difficulty in

rendering them accurately. In some cases this must have tended to add obscurity to the language of Scripture; whilst the introduction of Greek technical terms no doubt led many of the commentators and controversialists to see prophetic allusions, where the words, if fully considered, would hardly bear such an interpretation. We have seen an instance of this in the offence which Philastrius took at the version of Aquila, because those who used it quoted the passages about the Lord's Messiah with the word 'unctus' substituted for 'Christus.' As an instance of the literal following of the Septuagint in the quotations of Cyprian, it is to be observed that he quotes the words of the Angel to Jacob, "I am the God of Bethel," as Justin Martyr did, in the form 'in loco Dei,' to prove that the same person has the title of God and of "the angel of God," where, as we have seen, the Septuagint translated Bethel, and thus obtained a repetition of the Name of God, such as the Fathers commonly quoted in their writings to prove a plurality of persons in the Godhead.

St Augustine mentions the existence of numerous Latin versions, but it appears, from his correspondence with St Jerome, and other¹ parts of his works, that there must have been one which was generally employed in his time, as having more authority than the others; and the version from which his quotations are taken was similar in character to those from which we find large extracts in the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian; Greek words occur in them, some of which were succeeded by purer Latinity in the Vulgate of later times, others were still retained. For it does not appear that Jerome had in view the improvement of the Latinity, but only to bring the Version to a closer correspondence with the Hebrew. Thus, 'perizomata' from the Greek of Gen. iii. 7, which we find in St Augustine's citation of the passage, is continued in

¹ *De Doctrina Christiana. De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 43.

the Vulgate. So are the words *abyssus*, *azyma*, *holocaustum*, *paradisus*, and *zelotes*, applied to God. In the version which Augustine made use of, Abraham is called '*transfluvialis*,' from the LXX. *περάτης* in Gen. xiv. 13. The word '*holocarpoma*' in Leviticus is transcribed, but on the other hand the old '*Tabernaculum martyrii*' is now succeeded by '*tabernaculum testimonii*.' As however the writings of St Augustine are purer from the mixture of Greek words than those of his predecessors in the African Church, his quotations from the Old Testament appear to be also more intelligible.

St Ambrose's quotations are much more free from these Græcisms than those of the African writers; and it is likely that the Latinity of the versions used in Italy would be purer. We find however a few of those Greek words which occur in the later Vulgate, and the quotations in most cases follow the Septuagint very closely. Thus, in Gen. vii. 11 and viii. 2 we find the words '*fontes abyssi*' and '*catatractæ cœli*' in the history of the Deluge. His treatise on the Creation is called "*Hexæmeron*" after the manner of the Greek writers. In Lev. xxv. 9, as quoted by Ambrose and afterwards retained in the Vulgate, the word '*clanges*' occurs, which though not unknown to some of the profane authors, is rare, and seems to have come from some Greek copy. In Ps. civ. 17 we have an instance of a close rendering of the Septuagint, also continued in the Vulgate; "*Joseph venundatus est in servum*." Hence, St Ambrose thus remarks on the form of expression, "He was sold for a slave, but was not made a slave. His feet were bound, but not his soul." In Gen. xix. 24, we find an example of the way in which the literal rendering of the Hebrew into Greek and of the Greek into Latin, led the Fathers to deduce from the language and style of the Old Testament arguments which were supposed to confirm the doctrine of the Trinity; on account of which, if we are to believe Philas-

-trius, the Septuagint was highly esteemed by the Church. It is quoted in his work *de Fide*, Lib. i. Cap. III., as "the Lord rained from the Lord," as if the repetition of the name implied a plurality, at the same time that the unity of operation implied a unity of essence. In the forty-fifth Psalm, where God is said to be anointed by God, he argues that as Christ's human nature was anointed, there is no exception to this law of the unity of operation. In his use of Habac. ii. 11, he follows an old version from the Septuagint, which differs from the Vulgate. In his oration on the death of Theodosius, he speaks of Helena in the following manner: "Adoravit illum qui pependit in ligno; illum, inquam, qui sicut scarabæus clamavit, ut persecutoribus suis peccata condonaret." This is plainly taken from the LXX. in Hab. ii. 11, καὶ κάρθαρος ἐκ ξύλου. It is a remarkable application of an expression in the prophets, which, as was before observed, may probably be traced to the Jewish controversies, in which the Christians appear to have anxiously searched the writings of the Old Testament to find some clear prediction of the cross, in answer to the demand of the Jews, to whom the accursed tree was the great stumblingblock. The application of such a name as κάρθαρος to our Lord was justified by the words of Ps. xxii. 6, in which the speaker is believed to be Christ, saying, "But as for me, I am a worm and no man, a very scorn of men, and the outcast of the people." For so Jerome wrote in his Commentary on the Prophet, that some of the writers of his time said that the 'σκώληξ de ligno' of the prophet Habakkuk was the same as the speaker in Ps. xxii. 6; and that they also referred to Christ the words of Ps. cii. 7, "I have watched, and am even as it were a sparrow, who sitteth alone on the housetop." Here he alludes to Ambrose. We find that the latter repeats the same thought in his thirty-second Epistle, where he says of Christ, "Clamavit etiam in corpore suo, sicut scar-

bæus in ligno," referring to the sentences uttered upon the cross. Jerome, however, whilst mentioning the different interpretations of the passage of Habakkuk by writers of his time, says that there was one who understood the stone out of the wall to be our Lord upon the cross, whilst the *κάνθαρος* was the thief who blasphemed him; being led to this by the vileness of the animal generally understood by that word. But this notion of the passage may have arisen out of the older interpretation which we find Ambrose adopted; and this again naturally followed from the application of the word *ξύλον* to the cross, if it was the occurrence of this word which suggested the interpretation to those who were labouring to convince the Jews of the fulfilment of prophecy in the death of Christ.

From these examples we may gather some idea of the character of the old versions from the Septuagint. They give evident proof that the influence of the Septuagint upon the progress of Christianity was not confined to the countries where the Greek language was spoken. They shew that it was introduced together with the original of the New Testament throughout the West, and both together rendered into a similar style of Latin, mixed with Greek words, and closely adhering to the constructions, even when they were at variance with the ordinary style of both languages. This also confirms the evidence which we have, that in most parts of Western Europe Churches were planted in the earliest times by missionaries, from Asia Minor and the East, speaking the Greek language.

CHAPTER III.

On the influence of the Septuagint on the Doctrinal Language of the Church, and the Controversies in which Christian Writers have been engaged at different periods.

"Septuaginta Interpretes, novis rebus, nova verba fingentes."—Sti. HIERONYMUS, *Comm. in Epist. ad Ephesios*, Lib. I. Cap. I. de vocabulo εἰδωκτα.

AT the time of the first preaching of Christianity there was no other written document besides the Alexandrian Version by which the greater part of the civilized world could become acquainted with the deep truths of revelation. The importance of the work undertaken by those who compiled this translation can hardly be overestimated, when we consider that the Providence of God seems to have assigned to them the part of becoming interpreters to the world of ideas which the human race had almost entirely forgotten; to express by new forms and phrases, hitherto unknown even in the richest and most copious language in the world, the truths to which philosophy could not attain, concerning God's power and man's weakness, God's love and man's ingratitude. Then the Elohim, Jehovah, Eleon and Shaddai of the Hebrews became known to the Greeks as the ΘΕΟΣ, the ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ, the ὑψιστος, and the Παντοκράτωρ, which names were sanctioned afterwards by the Holy Ghost, who descended upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, to give them the gift of tongues, to assist them in the very work which

had in some sense been begun by the Alexandrian interpreters. When Christ said that He sent His Apostles to reap that whereon they had bestowed no labour¹, the first significance of His words related to the preparation of the Jews and Samaritans for the Gospel by the Law and the Prophets; but in the preparation of the Gentiles and a large portion of the Jews themselves, the Greek interpreters of the Law and the Prophets bore no unimportant part. For it is well known, that the want of words in the language of a nation in a state of heathenism to express the doctrines of Revelation, is one of the greatest difficulties which the missionary has to overcome; he has in many cases to introduce a new soil before the seed can be sown with any hope of success. In the case of the Apostles, the miraculous powers conferred upon them were no doubt sufficient to enable them to overcome this difficulty without the aid of other men's labours. But it pleased the Almighty that the soil should be already prepared for receiving the seed of the Gospel, and the language in great measure provided for those who were to instruct the most intellectual nation of the world in the truths of Revelation. Besides forwarding the advance of the truth, the use of these forms of language by the inspired teachers of the religion was a confirmation of the doctrine that the Old Testament was not contrary to the New; because the teaching of the first preachers of the Gospel was founded upon the language of the Law and the Prophets: in their forms of confession of faith they introduced words which had their origin in the translation of the LXX; and even when the ideas were only dimly declared in the Old Testament, the forms of words employed in enunciating them were taken from the same source. Moreover, by adopting terms which had been known to the writers of the Alexandrian School and other philosophers before, the inspired writers corrected the errors

¹ John iv. 38.

and false notions into which man's unaided reason had fallen; whilst in other ways they made it appear that those who strove to make use of the faculties and opportunities which they had received, in order to arrive at a knowledge of the truth, were often Providentially brought near to a discernment of Divine things.

Having made these observations on the relations between the doctrines of Christianity and the Alexandrian Version and the language of philosophy, I propose to take the order of the Constantinopolitan Creed, noticing under each article some of those forms of language and words which appear to have their origin in the ancient Greek interpretation of the Old Testament; and chiefly those phrases which occur in the New Testament, and are found to correspond with those which had been before adopted by the Alexandrian translators.

ART. I. Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα, παντοκράτορα Ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων.

The manner in which the importance and necessity of Faith was insisted upon by the first preachers of the Gospel was one of those things which appeared new and strange to the ears both of Jews and Gentiles. We know that both Celsus and Julian¹ cavilled at it; and the full exposition of it in the Epistle to the Hebrews shews that the writer was labouring to convince the Jews that this doctrine of faith was not a new thing, but that it was the virtue by which the Patriarchs and Prophets had pleased God from the beginning. The preaching of the word, as we know it was offered by the Apostles to Jews and Gentiles, had for its first end conversion to faith; and this conversion they expressed by the form of words, "Believe on

¹ Origen, in *Celsum*. Lib. i. Greg. Nazianzen. Orat. i. contra *Julianum*, So did the Gnostics and Manicheans.

the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ¹." This belief of the heart and confession of the mouth was constantly represented as the only means by which they could obtain salvation, and be brought into the favour of God.

The word employed was πιστεύω, followed by the prepositions εἰς, ἐπὶ, ἐν, or by a simple dative. In the Septuagint we find the two last generally adopted: the first when the verb פִּשְׁעָה (Hiphel) in the Hebrew was joined with ב, and the second when it was followed by ל. Pearson, however, observed that the translators did not always observe this distinction; for instance, in the passage² where Abram is said to believe, אֲמַן אֲבְרָם, the LXX. adopted the simple dative τῷ Θεῷ; and in one place, Job xv. 15, neither form is used, but κατὰ with the genitive. Thus, though the form "to believe in" was derived from the Hebrew through the Septuagint by both Jewish and Christian Greeks, the full meaning of the phrase was not brought out till the Gospel was preached; for the translators appear to have left it obscure and doubtful whether any thing further was intended by the form 'to believe in God,' than to believe the word or witness of God, as the Israelites believed the words or witness of Moses. When, however, the first preachers of Christianity exhorted their converts to make profession of their faith by this form, they evidently associated with the words, "I believe in God," the idea of asserting His Being and existence, and this was to be done by an outward confession of the lips, by which those who were baptized expressed their belief in the blessed Trinity, in whose name they were baptized. Thus the phrase of 'believing on' seems to be distinguished from that of believing God in 1 Joh. v. 10, where the sense of ὁ μὴ πιστεύων τῷ Θεῷ is explained to signify a disbelief of the testimony of the Father concerning the Son: whilst to believe εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ is to assert the truth that

¹ Acts xvi. 31; 1 John v. 13. ² Gen. xvi. 6.

Jesus Christ is the Son of God. The phrase, 'to believe in, or on,' had a sense, when referred to God and to the Name of Christ, which it could not have when applied to other objects of belief; and St Augustine, whilst distinguishing between 'credere Deo' and 'credere in Deo,' observed that we could not rightly be said to believe in Peter and Paul, because the assent to the evidence of a witness was not belief in that witness. This distinction appears to be sanctioned by the words of St John; but in appropriating the phrase of 'believing on' to God only, as if it implied love and confidence and hope, he gave it an interpretation which was not consistent with the language of the Greeks, who in their confessions used the form, "we believe in the Church and in one baptism," and even used the simple accusative, πιστεύομεν ἓνα Θεόν. Yet the explanation was not contrary to other forms of language which occur in Scripture, such as that of 'rejoicing in God,' Isa. xxix. 19, or 'hoping in God' (Ps. xxiv. 3, LXX. ὑπομένω). It also had the authority of St Augustine, which gave it a lasting influence upon the teaching of the Church. It was noticed by Peter Lombard, and thence adopted by Aquinas and the other schoolmen.

In speaking of the phrase which expressed belief, we are naturally led by the use of it in the New Testament to another subject of deep importance, the use of the word *ὄνομα*, which seems to be derived from the Hebrew through the Septuagint. In St John's Gospel (ch. iii. 18) we find it connected with the phrase, 'to believe on.' A reverence for certain names and words, despised as no doubt it was by pagans such as Gallio¹ and Celsus, is an essential part of all religion. It was constantly insisted upon in the Old Testament, when the prophets, declaring their revelations, added in confirmation of them, 'The LORD is His NAME.' It was by His Names that God made Himself known to

¹ Acts xviii. 15. Origen in *Celsum*, Lib. 7.

the Jews, and declared His nature and attributes from time to time to mankind. We may therefore infer that even when the word 'Name' seems to be equivalent to 'Person,' it cannot lose its proper significance of that which was pronounced by man's lips in acts of prayer and praise. To trust¹ in His Name, to call upon His Name, to praise His Name, were forms which were literally rendered by the Septuagint; and this form of speech, which implies the importance of the Name, was continued by the writers of the New Testament; Christ Himself said that He came in His Father's Name, and enjoined the use of the Name of the Holy Trinity in Baptism; miracles are wrought in the Name of Christ, and the Name of Jesus is declared to be above every name. In His Name prayer is to be offered to the Father; all things are to be done in His Name; and, lastly, in the Apocalypse we find frequent mention of names to which deepest reverence is to be given. The mention of the Name of GOD seems to be inseparable from the thought of His presence; and the miracles which were done by the Apostles were ascribed to this, "His Name, through faith in His Name, hath made this man strong²." In Deut. xii. 5, *ἐπονομάσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*³, signifies an extraordinary presence of GOD in His holy place. And this phrase is adopted by St Paul in Rom. xv. 20, *οὐχ ὅπου ὀνομάσθη ὁ Χριστός*, in the sense of the countries where Churches had been founded, and Christ's Name and presence revered; and in 2 Tim. ii. 19 we find *πᾶς ὁ ὀνομάζων τὸ ὄνομα Χριστοῦ*, which latter phrase exactly agrees with the language of the Septuagint in Isai. xxvi. 13, Ps. xix. 8, and many other passages⁴.

¹ Ps. cxlviii. 13; Gen. iv. 26; Isai. l. 10; li. 10; lvi. 6; lix. 19; lx. 9; Deut. xii. 5; James ii. 7.

² Acts iii. 16.

³ Deut. xii. 5: "The place which the Lord your God shall choose out

of all your tribes to put His Name there, even unto His habitation shall ye seek."

⁴ Josh. xxiii. 7: the names of their gods shall not be named amongst you.

The Alexandrian interpreters, in rendering the names of GOD, sometimes transcribed their Hebrew forms, as in 1 Sam. i. 11, Ἀδωναὶ Κύριε ἐλὼὲ σαβαώθ, where in the Hebrew text the words are simply יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת; at other times they rendered the Hebrew words as in Ps. lix. 5, καὶ σὺ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, for יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי הַכֹּחַ. Hence we find in Rom. ix. 29, and the Epistle of James, the words Κύριος Σαβαώθ, the Hebrew form being apparently in common use among the Hellenists. They did not however always render צְבָא by δύναμις, but often preferred στρατία, especially when it signified the host of the heavenly bodies: the latter is found in the books of Chronicles and Jeremiah, the former in the Psalms, Isaiah, and Daniel; thus in Ps. xxxiii. 6 the stars are signified, as in Matth. xxiv. 29, αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται. In Ps. cxlviii. 2 the word is applied to the angels; hence its use in Eph. i. 21, where δυνάμεις, like ἄρχαι and ἐξουσίαι, are ranks of the celestial hierarchy, and the word is applied to the spiritual enemies of God and His Church in Rom. viii. 38 and 1 Cor. xv. 24. The Alexandrian interpreters by this twofold rendering of Sabaoth by δυνάμεις and στρατίαι, thus furnished the language by which the inspired teachers of the Gospel made known a fuller and clearer revelation of the things in heaven; the latter representing the angels as an army succouring and defending God's servants, and the ministers of His vengeance against His enemies; the former indicating their exalted position in the universe of creation. At the same time this multiplication of terms aided in throwing some light upon the obscurity which may have arisen from the similarity of the language concerning the stars of heaven to the names by which the heavenly host of God were represented. The LXX. does not always adhere to either of these two renderings of Sabaoth, but often adopted the Name Παντο-

κράτωρ¹. And St John in the Apocalypse sanctioned this interpretation; for whereas the heavenly host in Isaiah's vision spoke of God as the Lord God of Sabaoth, here He is called Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς Παντοκράτωρ. This Name, which occurs in 2 Cor. vi. 18 and seven times in the Apocalypse, was thence introduced into the ancient Creeds; but its original is traced to the Alexandrian Version. The Greek interpreters more frequently employed it as an equivalent to יְיָ; and hence the twofold sense which was ascribed to the word by the interpreters of the Creeds; which was 1. a universal dominion over all the hosts of creation implied by the Lord of Sabaoth; and 2. the power of performing all things, corresponding to Shaddai.

The title 'Rock' applied to God in Deut. xxxii. 4, and frequently in the Psalms and Isaiah, seems to have been studiously suppressed by the Alexandrian interpreters. They resorted to various methods of avoiding the literal rendering of the word צור whenever it signified the Almighty; generally placing in its stead Θεὸς or Κύριος, but sometimes having recourse to a paraphrase². Hence the ancient Fathers of the Church appear to be entirely ignorant that 'Rock' was a Name for God, even though St Paul in 1 Cor. x. 4 seems to refer to it, when he spoke of the Rock which followed the Israelites in the wilderness, and was everywhere present with them. The author of the Commentary on Isaiah, which is placed among the works of St Basil, collected passages in Scripture referring to the 'petra' in different senses, and does not include the remarkable use of it for God Himself, which we find in the Hebrew. The strictly Divine character of the Rock was thus unknown to most of the ancient writers of the

¹ 2 Sam. v. 10; vii. 8, 26, &c.

² A remarkable rendering of צור occurs in 2 Sam. xxii. 32, "Who is a rock except our God?" Here it is

κτλστης. It is conjectured that here they may have read רֹקֵץ¹. In 1 Sam. ii. 2, it is rendered ἄγος.

Church, and probably to Philo also, when he compared his *Λόγος* or *Σοφία* to the rock. The Vulgate followed the LXX. in this peculiarity. This may have been one of the causes which led to a misapplication of the words of Matth. xvi. 18, which in later times became the subject of so much controversy.

The title *ἱψίστος* was not unknown to the Greek poets; but its ecclesiastical use in Liturgical¹ forms is to be traced to the LXX. rendering of the Hebrew *יְהוָה*. It is used by St Luke in the history of the birth of our Lord and John the Baptist, and by St Stephen; especially in the title "Son of the Highest" ascribed to our Lord.

The title of *ὁ ἅγιος* or *ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραὴλ* which belonged to God in the Old Testament was the name by which the demons adored Christ; and this, like *ἱψίστος*, was applied to Christ by the Church afterwards. Both these titles occur in the Septuagint of Isai. lvii. 15.

Besides certain names and titles which belong exclusively to God, there are forms and phrases expressive of His attributes. Such is "the living Lord," *יְהוָה הַחַי* (Psal. xlii. 2, lxxxiv. 2), which was rendered *Θεὸς ζῶν*, expressing that God is the Creator, the author and preserver of life. The words in the Acts, *ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς*, ascribe the same attribute to our Lord. It was also a common form of address to Christ, "Son of the living God," in the forms of the Church. The words of St Peter in which he speaks of Christ as *λίθον ζῶντα*, follow the language of the LXX.; and the use of *ζῶν* generally in the New Testament in an active sense of that which imparts life, corresponds with the use of *ζῶν* by the Greek translators as an attribute of God.

In Col. i. 15, God is called *Θεὸς ἀόρατος*. This word occurs in the Septuagint but not as applied to God, but to the earth in a state of chaos, Gen. i. 2, and to the hidden

¹ Ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἄγιος, κ.τ.λ., and the hymn *τρισάγιον*.

parts of Creation, Isai. xlv. 3. But in contemplating the attributes of invisibility and omnipresence which belong to the Almighty, the word 'glory' is of great importance, or the Greek *δόξα*. The word in all the meanings which it acquired by its theological use became a most comprehensive term; important not only from the place which it has always held in the worship of God, but also from its relation to the controversies on the mysterious attribute by which He is called "the invisible God." It was introduced by the Greek interpreters as the equivalent of several Hebrew words, and especially to קְבוֹד; and consequently succeeded to the different senses which that word bore; it was employed to convey to the minds of men both that which was due to God on account of the excellence of His nature and the beauty of His works, and also the expression of man's gratitude for the benefits which he has received. In the books of Moses, it expresses a visible manifestation of God's presence, such as appeared in the cloud and on Mount Sinai. The fire was the visible and miraculous sign of His presence; the presence itself is called the Glory of the LORD, in the LXX. ἡ δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Hence, in Ps. xxix. 3, God is called the God of Glory; in Ps. xxiv. 8, the King of Glory; thus the title Lord of Glory applied to Christ by St Paul and St James appears to be derived from this form in the Greek version, and is one of the numerous instances in which the titles of Jehovah in the Old Testament are ascribed to Christ in the New, as well as to God the Father (Acts vii. 2; Eph. i. 17). Besides the use of *δόξα* for the presence of God on Mount Sinai, we find it in 2 Chron, v. 14, of the cloud that filled the temple when the trumpeters and the singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord. In the Second Epistle of St Peter, allusion is made to the transfiguration; and whereas St Matthew speaks of the cloud, St Peter refers

to the visible manifestation of the Divine Presence under the name of *μεγαλοπρεπὴς δόξα*. The existence of this glory as distinct from the essence of the Deity, was maintained by Gregorius Palamas of Thessalonica in the fourteenth century. He identified it with the Light of which St Paul speaks in 1 Tim. vi. 16, as the residence of the invisible essence of the Deity; and this eternal and uncreated Light was supposed to be the same as the energy or operation of the Deity; which glory or energy was seen by the Apostles at the time of the transfiguration. In Exodus there appears to be a distinction between the face of God which could not be seen by any man, and the glory of God which was seen by Moses, and less distinctly by the seventy elders, and yet more dimly by the congregation of Israel; but in the words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which Christ is called *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης*, the two conceptions of God's glory and His essence seem to be closely connected; and in the words of John i. 18, it is through the SON alone that the Divine glory has ever been manifested. In the Apocryphal books, as Tobit xii. 15, 2 Macc. ii. 8, the glory of GOD seems to be equivalent to His presence, or His throne in heaven.

The eternal existence of GOD was represented by the Septuagint by the adjective *αἰώνιος*. It first occurs in Gen. xxi. 33. Abraham was in Beersheba, and there he called the Name of the Lord Θεὸς αἰώνιος, according to the LXX. This is amplified in Ps. xc. 2, *ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος*, which St Augustine renders by "ab eterno in æternum," preferring this to the usual translation of *αἰὼν* by 'sæculum.' The word *αἰώνιος* was used by itself in the Apocryphal books for God. It is used in the New Testament in Rom. xvi. 26. It is clear that the Alexandrian interpreters intended to express by it the infinite period of existence both past and future, which was to be ascribed to God.

The expression *ὁ ποιήτης* is not applied to God in the Septuagint, the periphrastic forms *ὁ ποιῶν* or *ὁ ποιήσας* being preferred; but the use of *κτίζω* and its derivatives by the Greek interpreters, is important from its relation to the interpretation of the New Testament. In Genesis *בָּרָא* is rendered by *ποιέω*, but in the Psalms it becomes *κτίζειν*, and hence its use in the Epistles of St Paul is to be understood.—*καρδίαν καθάραν κτίσων ἐν ἐμοί*, Ps. li. 10; the power of fulfilling this request belonging to the Creator of the heart, who having created it once is said to create it anew. This is the new creature or creation spoken of by St Paul. When however he spoke of the Gospel preached to every creature under heaven, the word seems to have the sense of “heathen.” It is said that the Jews often spoke of the heathen by the corresponding Hebrew word *בְּרִיּוֹת*. This appropriation of the word *κτίσις* to the human race does not appear in the LXX, or the Apocrypha. It may be understood how the relation of man to his Creator, especially when he has been renewed by the Holy Ghost, and has received a second life, should render him a creature in a sense which cannot be applied at least to the lower creation. This is confirmed by such passages as Deut. xxxii. 6 and Isai. xlv. 21, *ἐπλασά σε*, which are spoken exclusively of God’s peculiar people. Hence the creature in Rom. viii. 20, has by some been explained to mean the whole body of Christians throughout the world. Chrysostom took the wider sense of *κτίσις*, and supposed that all the lower creation sympathized with man in his subjection to vanity, and should hereafter sympathize with him in his death, by the final destruction by fire, and afterwards should be glorified with him in the renewal of the new heavens and the new earth. If however we follow the sense given to *κτίσις* by the Jews, we should rather understand by it mankind generally, and especially man in a state of alienation from God; those who have not the firstfruits of the

Spirit which Christians have. This seems to have been the sense adopted by St Augustine on Ps. cxviii. The various uses of *κτίσις* in the New Testament are to be traced ultimately to the employment of the verb *κτίζω* by the Greek interpreter of the Psalms in the sense of "to create."

ART. II. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν ὂν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων· φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο.

We have seen that the name Christ is derived from the Septuagint rendering of *מָשִׁיחַ*. Thus, in Leviticus iv. 5, we find *ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ Χριστός*. It generally refers to the anointing which had a sacred character; thus, in 1 Chron. xvi. 22, "Touch not my anointed, and do my prophets no harm," *Χριστός* corresponds to *προφήτης*. It occurs constantly in the Psalms, and those Latins who became familiar with the name 'Christus' in their liturgical use of the Psalms, were offended by the attempt of some to substitute 'unctus' for it.

The word *μονογενής* is one of great interest and importance on account of the questions which have been raised about it. The Alexandrian interpreters used it occasionally as the equivalent of the Hebrew *יָחִיד*. Thus, in Ps. xxii. 20, we find *τὴν μονογενῆ μου*, Eng. "Deliver my soul from the sword, my only one from the power of the dog." Here Suidas explained it by *τὴν μονότητα*. It is used similarly in Ps. xxxv. 20. In Ps. xxv. 17, it seems to have the sense of desolate, "Deliver me, for I am poor and *μονογενής*." In the book of Tobit it is used in its natural sense of an only son or daughter. In Wisd. vii. 22, it is one of the epithets of the Spirit of Wisdom, and has the

sense of unity and integrity. In other places, as in Gen. **xxii.** concerning Isaac, the **LXX.** render **ἡγία** by *ἀγαπητός* or *ἀγαπώμενος*; on the other hand, Isaac is called in the Epistle to the Hebrews the *μονογενῆς* of Abraham. Thus, *μονογενῆς* and *ἀγαπητός* appear to be to some extent interchangeable. The voice from heaven which was heard at the time of our Lord's baptism was *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Τίος μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα*. In Mark **xii. 6**, the two ideas are combined, *ἐνα Τιδὸν ἔχων ἀγαπητὸν αὐτοῦ*. Eunomius argued that *μονογενῆς* signified "begotten of the Father alone;" which St Basil refuted by appealing both to the Scriptures and the common language of mankind. In fact there appears to be nothing in favour of such an interpretation, either in the use of the word by the Septuagint or by St John. The argument of the Socinians founded on the two words *μονογενῆς* and *ἀγαπητός* being interchanged for the same Hebrew equivalent was more plausible, as it received some support from the language of the Greek translators, who seem to have used *μονογενῆς* in a sense which diverges considerably from the natural and literal meaning of the word. But it must be observed that the word as employed in the Old Testament only refers to the son of a man, and so implies little more than *πρωτότοκος*, whilst in the New it is referred to the generation from the Infinite and Eternal; and the word being placed in this relation acquires a meaning which it could not have before. In this sense it is peculiar to the writings of St John, who made use of it in his first chapter, that he might prove that there was one *μονογενῆς* and one only, and He the Word who was from the beginning with God. But when Christ is spoken of as *ὁ ἀγαπητός* or *ὁ ἡγαπημένος* (as in Eph. **i. 6**), it is in reference to God's making us accepted in Him¹ for whose sake we also are *ἀγαπητοί*². After-

¹ Compare Col. **i. 13**: τοῦ Τίου
τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ.

² So Rom. **i. 7**; Col. **iii. 12**; 2 Thess.
ii. 13.

wards when St John wrote, it was necessary to insist upon the doctrine contained in the other word, which we accordingly find in John iii. 16, although in this passage the word *ἀγαπητός* might seem to be more adapted to the spirit of the verse.

ART. III. Τὸν δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμέτεραν σωτηρίαν, κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα.

Under this Article the most important object of inquiry is the meaning of the word *σὰρξ* in connexion with the doctrine of the Incarnation. By this word the Septuagint always rendered the Hebrew *בָּשָׂר*, though the latter often signifies not merely flesh, but man, or even mankind generally, as Isai. xl. 5, "The glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together." Sometimes it is employed for human nature, especially with respect to its infirmities or bad tendencies, as in Gen. vi. 3; Isai. iii. 3; &c. In Gen. vi.—viii. it is used of fowls and beasts, together with man. Corresponding to these various senses in which it occurs in the Old Testament, we find senses given to it in the New; thus flesh and blood in the New Testament signify man; St Peter is said to receive the revelation from the Father, and not from flesh and blood; St Paul communicated not with flesh and blood, and spiritual warfare is not like the war in which the armies of the world are engaged in, against flesh and blood, that is, against other men. Thus also "the Word was made flesh" (*σὰρξ ἐγένετο*) signifies that He took upon Him not only the flesh and bones of a man, but the nature of a man, whole and perfect, body, soul and spirit. The heresy of Arius, who taught that Christ had nothing of man but the flesh, and that with that the Word was joined, amounted

to a denial that St John, by the word σὰρξ, signified the whole man. The Constantinopolitan Creed therefore explains σαρκωθέντα by ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, or at least adds the latter word to prevent a false construction being put upon the first. It may seem bold to assert that this is the meaning of σὰρξ; and it must be admitted that many writers of antiquity preferred to take σὰρξ in its simplest sense, and to compare it with the Septuagint Version of Gen. ii. 7, ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, not that he was changed into a living soul, but that he was endued with it. Yet in the history of the early controversies we may find ample reason why the ancients should have shrunk from giving the full meaning to σὰρξ. The passage was constantly pressed against the heretics who denied the reality of Christ's body. Tertullian wrote a treatise, *de Carne Christi*, to refute the errors of Marcion and Basilides, who from the notion of the evil necessary to matter, argued against the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, and on the same grounds adopted those views concerning our Lord which were afterwards known as the heresy of the Docetæ and Phantasiastæ. Chrysostom refutes the latter in his homily on the passage. Melito wrote a treatise, *περὶ ἐνσαρκώσεως Χριστοῦ*, to refute Marcion. All these would insist upon the word 'Flesh' actually signifying the material body of man. On the other hand, we find other writers speaking of flesh as if it was the same as human nature. Thus Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 32) wrote, ὁ Λόγος σαρκοποιηθεὶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν. And Cyril of Alexandria opposes the σὰρξ as taken by our Lord to the Θεότης. The same seems to be the opinion of Augustine in his treatise on the Trinity. It is evident from the words of Athanasius (*de Adv. Christi, c. Apollinar.*) that Arius and Eunomius took the word σὰρξ as excluding both a ψυχὴ and a νοῦς. Apollinarius¹ also asserted that there was no need of a

¹ Suidas, quoted in Hooker, v. 32.

human νοῦς to that body, as the Deity, being invested with it, directed it.

The other part of Joh. i. 14, *καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν Αὐτοῦ* corresponds with the phraseology of the Septuagint, especially in Ps. lxxxv. 9, "For His salvation is nigh them that fear Him, that glory may dwell (*κατασκηνώω*) in our land." The Greek interpreters rendered the Hebrew *יָשַׁב* by *σκηνώω* or *κατασκηνώω* in Judges v. 17 and viii. 11. When applied to the Divine glory, as it is in Ps. lxxxv. 9, it would have reference to the tabernacle which was consecrated by the manifestation of the Divine presence. The writers of the New Testament speak of the tabernacle as the type of our Lord, the veil representing His flesh, and the Divine presence corresponding to the manifestation of His Godhead in the flesh; and our Lord Himself spoke of His body as the temple which should be raised up in three days. St Paul and St Peter both speak of our bodies as earthly tabernacles; and it appears from the Book of Wisdom that the Jews themselves employed similar language; ch. ix. 15, "The corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things." But though the allegorical figures of the temple and the tabernacle represent the body exclusively, this is no reason that we should not in the other part of the verse, and especially in the word *σὰρξ*, understand the sense of "perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting." The same sense is to be given to the word flesh in the passages, "He became partaker of flesh and blood;" or when His time of sojourn upon earth is called "the days of His flesh;" when He is said to have been "manifested in the flesh;" and this use of 'Flesh' for human nature is certainly to be traced to the Alexandrian interpreters of the Old Testament.

ART. IV.—VII. σταυρωθέντα ἑπὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.

The use of the word *ξύλον* for the cross, and its important bearing upon the controversies with the Jews, have been already observed.

The words which express the doctrine of redemption in the New Testament are *λυτρόω*, 1 Pet. i. 18; *ποιεῖν λύτρωσιν*, Luke i. 68; *περιποιεῖσθαι*, Acts xx. 28; *ἀγοράζω*, Rev. v. 9, xiv. 3, 4; *ἐξαγοράζω*, Gal. iii. 13. Besides this we find that the disciples at Emmaus expected that Christ would be the person *ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι Ἰσραὴλ*. The idea of redemption was connected in the minds of the Jews with the deliverance of their nation out of the hands of their enemies; and they had great difficulty in conceiving Him to be their Redeemer who did not effect their deliverance. Hence the Hebrew *לָקַח*, which the LXX. sometimes rendered *λυτρόω*, was occasionally rendered *ρύομαι*, to deliver rather than to ransom. In Isai. xlix. 26; liv. 8, and other passages where God is called the Redeemer of Israel, the LXX. rendered it *ὁ ρυσάμενος*. The word *λυτρόω* was however usually employed to express the deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, and this seems to have been the original idea of deliverance to the Jewish nation, which corresponded to the ransom of captives from a state of slavery to a state of liberty and security. Thus we find it in Exod. vi. 6, "I will redeem you with a stretched out arm." It also represents the redemption of the firstborn in Exod. xiii. 15. It is applied to the redemption of the poor Israelite who has sold himself to the wealthy stranger, in Lev. xxv. 49. From this custom of a person reduced to

extreme poverty selling himself, the prophets took a figure to represent that Israel had by her sins been the cause of her own calamities. Hence in Isai. lii. 3 the words are: "Ye have sold yourselves for nought; and ye shall be redeemed (λυτρωθήσεσθε) without money."

As λυτρόω represents deliverance out of a state of slavery, ἀγοράζω and περιποιέομαι contain a further sense which implies that the person or thing redeemed becomes the peculiar property of the redeemer. Thus λυτρόω would be used of the redemption of the brother Israelite in slavery, who would not become the possession of the redeemer; but those to whom the other words are applied, become a λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, 1 Pet. ii. 9. The latter expression seems to be derived from the LXX. in Malachi iii. 17, ἔσονται μοι εἰς ἡμέραν, ἣν ἐγὼ ποιῶ, εἰς περιποίησιν, "They shall be mine in that day when I make up my jewels." The verb is used in the Septuagint of Ps. lxxviii. 12; Gen. xii. 12; Exod. i. 16, in the sense of "preserving alive," or defending, Isai. xxxi. 5; and as it is put as the equivalent to several Hebrew words, the sense of acquiring for a peculiar possession does not appear so distinctly as in the substantive. The sense of a possession appears in 1 Cor. vi. 20, ἡγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς. In the Septuagint the word ἀγοράζω does not occur in the sense of redemption by the power of God; but the two words λυτρόω and ρύομαι occur together in the passage of Hosea (ch. xiii. 14), "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death." The whole doctrine of redemption implies something more than a mere deliverance or salvation; it is a doctrine peculiar to revelation, and therefore the words expressive of it in the Septuagint were applied by the interpreters to a doctrine which was altogether unknown to the Greeks before; and even when it had been thus made known, the full sense of those words could not be understood till

the Redeemer of the world was come; and we may therefore place the doctrine of redemption among those which were expressed in language already employed by the Alexandrian interpreters, whilst it could not be perfectly understood by those who enunciated it.

Some words employed in the Septuagint are also worthy of notice from their application to the doctrine of our Lord's descent into hell. The word *ᾗδης* was introduced by the Greek interpreters as the equivalent of the Hebrew *הַשְׁאוֹ*: so Ps. xvi. 10 and Isai. xiv. 11. Another form was *τὰ κατώτατα τῆς γῆς*, which the old Latin interpreters rendered 'infernium' or 'inferna.' The latter form is found in Ps. cxxxix. 9 and lxiii. 9; and St Paul uses the comparative form in Ephes. iv. 9, which many of the Fathers interpreted of our Lord's descent into hell. In Isai. xlv. 23, the LXX. used *θεμέλια τῆς γῆς* for the lower parts of the earth, which there is opposed to the heavens: "Shout, ye lower parts of the earth." The word *καταχθόνια* used by St Paul in Phil. ii. 10 of "things under the earth," is similarly opposed to *τὰ ἐπουράνια*. We may trace the origin of much of the variation of opinion among the Fathers about the doctrine of the descent into hell to the different senses which the word *ᾗδης* acquired by the use of it by the Alexandrian translators, together with the periphrasis in the Psalms, which seems to be equivalent to it. Thus in the New Testament it sometimes signifies a place of torment prepared for the souls of the wicked after death, 2 Pet. ii. 4; Luke xvi. 23; sometimes the place of dominion of the enemies of the Church, Matth. xvi. 18; and perhaps it has a figurative sense of destruction in Matth. xi. 23, which corresponds to the use of it in the LXX. version of Isaiah; and lastly in Gen. xlii. 38, "Ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave" (*εἰς ᾗδου*), it has simply the sense of "the grave." Hence Ruffinus interpreted the article of the

descent into hell, as if it signified that our Lord's body descended into the grave; and the article relating His burial was omitted in the Creed into which the descent into hell was introduced.

The other difficulty arose from the rendering of $\psi\chi\iota$ by $\psi\chi\iota$ in the LXX. in passages in Leviticus¹ where it signified the dead body of a man, for it would seem that the distinction of $\psi\chi\iota$ and $\psi\chi\iota$ in the Hebrew was not originally drawn with the clear distinction which the Greek $\sigma\alpha\rho\chi$ and $\psi\chi\iota$ had acquired; both being capable of the sense of the whole man, and the latter being applied even to the mortal remains of a man deserted by the soul, "When thou shalt make His soul a sacrifice for sin."

The words which express the exaltation of Christ's human nature (in the Creed) and the dominion over His enemies, are taken from the Greek Version of Ps. cx. 1; the importance of which passage, in its relation to the controversies with the Jews concerning Christ's nature, has been before observed. The words are, *κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν Μου*. The same form occurs concerning the host of heaven, in the vision of Micaiah, 1 Kings xxii. 19, who stood around the throne of God on the right hand and on the left. The fuller description of Christ's exaltation in Eph. i. 20—23, abounds in expressions which are first employed in the sense given to them there in the LXX. Thus *πλήρωμα*, which in Ps. xxiv. 1, 1 Chron. xvi. 32 expressed the abundance of the gifts and the riches of the works of creation, which were due to the blessing of God, who commanded them to increase and multiply, in the New Testament is applied in an exactly analogous way to the works of redemption; as "the earth is full of the riches" of creation, so the Church is full of the riches of redemp-

¹ Pearson, *On the Creed*, on Art. v.

tion; and so both are called the *πλήρωμα* of Him that filleth all in all. The sense of the word is thus far more clearly found from a comparison of the use of it in the LXX. than by the conjecture that the Apostle alludes to the notions of the Gnostics about the *pleroma* of light, which was the residence of God and the *Æons*¹.

The title *μεσίτης* applied by Philo to Moses, and by the Apostle Paul to our Lord and Moses, appears to be derived from Job ix. 33, where the Septuagint rendering is *εἶθε ἦν ὁ μεσίτης ἡμῶν καὶ ἐλέγχων*, "Neither is there any daysman between us that might lay his hand upon us both." Here there is no Hebrew word that exactly corresponds to it. The adoption by the Alexandrian Jews of this word, so important in its relation to Christian doctrine, can only be traced to the ordering of Divine Providence; by which men were led to a sense of their need of a Mediator, and were thus prepared to receive the truths of the Gospel. If the word arose from the contemplation of the character of Moses as the interpreter of Divine revelations, or was invented by the translator of the book of Job, it had its origin in the idea of a Mediator between God and man. If it was originally used in the sense of a champion between two hostile armies, such as David and Goliath were, it will approach more nearly to the word 'Paraclete,' as employed by St John

¹ τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν ᾧ πληρουμένου. The active translation of the last participle was attacked by the Romanist writer Martin, who is answered by Fulke (*Defence of Translations of the Bible*, Parker Society), at great length: the Latin rendering of *πλήρωμα* was 'complementum,' or 'supplementum,' and so the words were understood to express that the head without the body was imperfect or incomplete. So Hooker, Book v. ch. lvi. § 10, "It pleaseth Him in

mercy to account Himself incomplete and maimed without us." But the use of *πλήρωμα* in Joh. i. 16 and Eph. iii. 19 seems to agree better with the sense of the riches or abundance of the gifts of divine grace conferred upon human nature through the Incarnation of the Word. The Church will then be called the *πλήρωμα* on account of that which it has received or is filled with; the *σκευός* (Rom. ix. 23) which receives mercy (1 Pet. ii. 10).

in his Epistle, and the typical character of Moses when he interceded for the people. In any case the word represented a great and important idea concerning the relation of man to God; and St Paul appealed to a thought already known to the Hellenists, when he spoke of the one *μεσίτης* between God and man.

ART. VIII. *Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον· τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν.*

The Name *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον*, by which the writers of the New Testament constantly spoke of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, was already known to the Hellenists by the LXX. Version of the Hebrew *רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ* which occurs in Ps. li. 11. Gr. *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγίον σου*, and in Isai. lxiii. 10; Wisd. ix. 17.

The Fathers made much use of the Old Testament in their controversial writings on this doctrine; and to prove that the Holy Ghost is the *ζωοποιόν*, the Giver and Preserver of natural life, they would quote Job xxxiii. 4 and Ps. xxxiii. 6; civ. 30; and even applied¹ to Him passages which speak of the fire of the consuming wrath proceeding from the breath or spirit of God: e.g. Isai. xxx. 28. St Basil in his Homily on Ps. xxxiii. considered that the fourth verse contained a clear proof of the *δημιουργικὴ δύναμις* of the Spirit; the LXX. do not however appear to have added any clear distinctness to the doctrine of Personality of the Spirit of God, but by constantly rendering *רוּחַ* in its various senses by one word *πνεῦμα*, left the truth veiled with the same obscurity which appears in the Hebrew. Thus in Ezek. xiii. *πνεῦμα* signi-

¹ Anselm, *contra Græcos*; on Isai. xi. 4. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 8.

fies the wind, the breath of man, and the Divine power which gives life by breathing into man's nostrils the breath of life¹. Tertullian, in his book against Hermogenes, considered that the Spirit which moved upon the waters in the time of Creation was the Wind; and St Basil mentions that many held the same view; but adds, that the traditions of the Church were in favour of the other interpretation.

The expression τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν may be compared with the words of David according to the LXX. in 2 Sam. xxiii. 2, Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γλώσσης μου. And the same expression occurs in Acts xxviii. 25. This doctrine was more clearly revealed in the Old Testament than any of the other doctrines concerning the Holy Ghost, and those prophecies about Him, which are quoted in the New Testament speak of His dwelling in Christ and the Prophets, and of the promise of the gifts which were to descend upon all flesh.

From the LXX. rendering of שָׁרָפָה (in Exod. xix. 23; xx. 11) the various senses of the words ἀγιάζω and ἀγιασμός are derived: they were applied to the separation of persons and things from common uses, and so in Heb. ix. 13, the verb has the sense of purging and purifying. Thus in John xvii. 19 (ἀγιάζω ἑμαυτὸν) it has the sense of offering in sacrifice. The use of the words in the New Testament is however most important, as explaining the full meaning of the Hebrew שָׁרָפָה אֱלֹהִים, by which the Spirit of God was revealed in the Old Testament. For in the New Testament this Name of Holy Spirit is chosen before others by which He is more frequently known in the Old, to represent His nature and attributes to man;

¹ The words in Rev. xi. 11 are very similar to those of Ezekiel according to the LXX. Here the Giver of Life is called πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

and this, by shewing that He is the author of our spiritual life, and the renewer and sanctifier of man's heart. Thus the literal rendering of the Hebrew by the Greek words *πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης* which is found in Rom. i. 4 is explained by the words *ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος* in 2 Thess. ii. 13. This attribute of the Spirit of God was partly revealed in the promise given by the prophet Ezekiel, ch. xxxvi. 25—27: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them." But the constant mention of the Spirit as τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον does not appear before the time of the New Testament.

ART. IX—XII. Εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

The word *ἐκκλησία* was used occasionally by the Greek translators of the Pentateuch, as in Deut. xviii. 6, xxiii. 1; but they generally preferred to render the Hebrew *קָהָל* by *συναγωγή*, in the sense of the assembly or congregation of Israel. Perhaps as *συναγωγή* came to have a technical sense of a place of public worship, they began to use *ἐκκλησία* instead of it, for a congregation and assembly generally. For in the Psalms *ἐκκλησία* is the usual rendering of the above Hebrew word, and in the New Testament it is applied to the congregation of Israel in the wilderness, which had been called *συναγωγή* in the Septuagint, e. g. in Exod. xii. 6. The sense of *ἐκκλησία* in

the New Testament corresponds to its use in the later books of the Old, and thus it signifies the congregation of the faithful, or the whole body of God's peculiar people.

The word *πανήγυρις* applied to it in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. xii. 23) seems to be also derived from the LXX. Version; it occurs in Ezek. xlvi. 11, in the sense of the assembly of the people for the celebration of the solemn feasts. Thus the word was admirably fitted to represent to the minds of those to whom it was addressed the thought of the "great multitude, which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, standing before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands." Rev. vii. 9. Both the word *πανήγυρις* and the description of the vision of St John must have recalled to the minds of Jewish converts the assemblies at Jerusalem at the feasts of their dispersed brethren, speaking various languages, such as is described in the second chapter of the Acts.

The word *ἄφεσις* is used in the LXX., in Deut. xv. 3, of the remission of a debt, *ἄφεσις τοῦ χρέους*. It is more frequently applied to the year of release. The verb *ἀφίημι* is used in the sense of the forgiveness of sins in Isai. xxii. 14, *ἀφεθήσεται ἡ ἁμαρτία*. The verb and the substantive were thus employed by the Greek interpreters to express the release from the guilt or obligation to punishment arising from the violation of the Divine law, and the preachers of the Gospel took these terms to enunciate the great doctrines of salvation to Jews and Greeks, to convince both of sin, and to shew how forgiveness was to be obtained.

The words *ἱλασμός* and *ἱλαστήριον* are to be traced to the same source. Thus Ps. cxxx. 4, "There is forgiveness with Thee," is in the Greek, *ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ ὁ ἱλασμός ἐστιν*. So in Numb. v. 8, *κρίδος τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ* signifies the Ram of the Atonement. The use of the

word in the latter passage corresponds to the sense in which it is applied by St John to our Lord: "He is the propitiation for our sins." It is also used in the Prophets as the equivalent of a third Hebrew word meaning a sacrifice for sin.

The word *ἱλαστήριον* (sc. *ἐπίθημα*) was taken by the Greek translators to signify the mercy-seat which was upon the Ark of the Covenant, and is used in this sense in Heb. ix. 5. It appears to be so named from the office of the High Priest on the day of Atonement, when it was commanded (Lev. xvi. 14) that he was to take of the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it with his finger upon the mercy-seat eastward; and afterwards the same was to be done with the blood of the goat of the sin-offering. This being the reason of the name of the mercy-seat, the Greek word might also be applied to the sacrifice or sin-offering, with the blood of which the mercy-seat was sprinkled; or as in Ezek. xliii. 14, it signifies the altar, or the place where the altar stood, it might have the sense of a sacrifice or a sin-offering generally; but the special sacrifice of the atonement gives the best interpretation in Rom. iii. 25, as it agrees better with the mention of the blood. In Heb. ix. 7 this annual sacrifice is represented as a clearer type than any other of the sacrifice of the death of Christ for sins, and His ascension into heaven to be our Mediator and Intercessor.

The phrase *ἀἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας* applied by St John the Baptist to our Lord, seems to refer to the scape-goat¹ upon whose head the sins of the people were confessed. It does not however occur in the LXX. Version of the account of the day of atonement. It may, therefore, be traced with greater probability to the common use of the

¹ Justin Martyr, *Dial.* c. 40, combines the two types of the paschal lamb and the two goats, supposing that the two comings of our Lord were "shadowed in the latter.

verb by the Alexandrian interpreters as the equivalent of the Hebrew נָשָׂא. Thus it is connected with transgressions in 1 Sam. xv. 25, where Saul says to Samuel, *καὶ νῦν ἄρου δὴ τὸ ἁμάρτημά μου*. But the common and natural sense of the word is to lift or support a burden¹; as Isaac underwent the burden, when Abraham laid the wood upon him; or as our Lord (*ἀνήνεγκε*) bare our sins in His own body on the tree, when the LORD laid on Him the iniquity of us all. Isai. liii. 5.

The doctrine of Justification by Faith, as enunciated by St Paul, was expressed in language with which the Hellenists were already familiar through the Septuagint. The use of the verb *δικαιόω* by the Alexandrian interpreters was not confined to the strict sense of absolving, or pronouncing just and free from guilt. It is put for several Hebrew words, sometimes in the sense of proving that a person is just, or pleading his cause; so Ezek. xxi. 13; Isai. i. 17; Mic. vii. 9. It is also used in the sense of "to purify," in Ps. lxxii. 13, "Then have I justified my heart in vain." Here there is no notion of deliverance from punishment or guilt of past sin; but rather the idea of removal out of a state of sin to a state of holiness. It is used in the prohibition of corrupt judgments in the Septuagint version of Exod. xxiii. 7, which contained the words, "thou shalt not take bribes to justify the wicked." But the translator of Prov. xvii. 15 did not use *δικαιόω* in this sense, but *δίκαιον κρῖνειν*. In the Apocryphal books *δικαιοῦσθαι* signifies to become just, or to live uprightly; so Eccus. xviii. 22.

The judicial sense of "acquitting" does not appear so prominently in the Old Testament; it occurs, however, in Ps. cxliii. 2, *οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐνώπιόν σου πᾶς ζῶν*: which in the form of expression closely resembles the assertion of

¹ Thus Chrysostom (Hom. xxvii. in *Matthæum*) makes *ἀρω* in John i. 29 to have the same sense as *ἐλαβε* and *ἐβάστασε* in Matth. viii. 17.

St Paul, "By the works of the Law shall no flesh be justified." In both passages the sense seems to be, "shall not be found to be just;" he will not be able to plead his cause, and thus prove himself just. This pleading or proving to be just is the opposite to *ἐγκαλεῖν*, which represents the act of the accuser. So Rom. viii. 33, "Who shall bring any charge¹ against God's elect?" Here however it is not the Advocate, but the Judge, who is said *δικαιοῦν*, and therefore its sense must be to absolve the person accused, and to pronounce and decree that he is free from the charge². Thus in the New Testament the word which has been employed much more freely before, seems to become limited and appropriated to the exposition of a particular doctrine of the faith.

The name *διάβολος* for the enemy of mankind is found in the LXX. Version of the Book of Job for the Hebrew *יָצָן*, and so it came to be used in the place of *Σατανᾶς*. The two names are therefore used synonymously in the New Testament.

The word *δαιμόνιον*, applied to the pagan deities in 1 Cor. x. 20, was employed in that sense by the Greek translators of Deut. xxxii. 17 for the Hebrew *עֲלִילִים*: *ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐ Θεῷ*. The converts to Christianity were instructed by the Apostle that these deities were not to be called *θεοί*, but were to be regarded either as having no real existence at all (1 Cor. viii. 4), or at least no true relation to mankind; or, if there were really any *δαιμόνια* inhabiting the heavens or the earth, they were the enemies of God and mankind, and therefore Christians were to abstain from the *εἰδωλόθυτα*.

It has been the intention, in the words instanced above, to give the most important examples of the influence of the language of the Alexandrian Version. In some cases the

¹ *ἐγκαλέσει*.

² Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*, Diss. I. cap. 1, 3.

forms adopted may be merely Hebrew idioms literally rendered by the interpreters; but many of the expressions thus introduced into the Greek language were sanctioned by the inspired teachers of the truth, as being the nearest approach which human language could make to a true description of the deep mysteries of the Divine Nature and man's relation to God. These mysteries, as they pass all understanding, are even more removed from the grasp of language, which is the expression of thought. But by the combination of the idioms of the Hebrew and Greek languages, of which the dispersion of the Jews was by the Providence of God the immediate occasion, a language was produced of that rich and copious nature which Christian doctrine required; to enable men to comprehend what is the depth and length and breadth and height of the love of Christ which passes knowledge.

To consider this subject fully it would be necessary to enter upon an inquiry into the influence of the writings of the Alexandrian school upon the progress of Christianity; but this is rather supplementary to the subject proposed than a part of it. The influence of the Septuagint translation upon the doctrines and controversies of the Church is rather to be sought for in the argumentative treatises of the Fathers of the Church, by which they defended the Catholic Faith, and refuted heresies. The early heretics, such as Marcion, who rejected the Old Testament as the work of the Evil Principle, and the Manichæans, in later times, made the Septuagint their object of attack, and the Catholic writers endeavoured to refute them out of that version, or literal translations from it. Hence the Fathers also quoted when they wrote on the doctrine of the Trinity; and the Greek writers of later times often took their stand upon passages quoted from it, when they argued against the doctrine of the Western Church about the Procession of the Holy Ghost.

A few instances have been observed in which they seem to have been led by the language of the Septuagint Version to apply words of the Old Testament to prove these doctrines; and it is not unlikely that in many cases the extremely literal nature of the translation may have had an important influence upon their arguments. But the chief object of this inquiry has been to investigate the causes of the influence of the Version; these were, the fact of the Septuagint and versions made from it being universally employed and respected by the ancient Church; and also the general prevalence of the Greek language in all the countries where Christianity was planted and took root permanently after the time of the Apostles.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED OR REFERRED TO.

INTRODUCTION :

Critical History of the Old Testament, by Father Simon, of the
Oratory; translation published at Oxford in the XVIIIth century.
Pearsoni Præfatio Parænetica ad Vet. Test. Græc.
St Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Lectures.
Westcott's Introduction to the Study of the Gospels.

PART I. CHAP. I. :

Wilberforce's Five Empires.
Conybeare and Howson's Life and Travels of St Paul.
S. Hieronymi Quæst. Hebraic. in Genesin.
„ Comm. in Epist. ad Galatas.
Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, Vol. I.
Strabonis Geographia.
Taciti Vita Agricolæ.
Life of Alexander the Great in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.
Second Prolegomena printed in Grabe's Edition of the LXX. pub-
lished at Oxford in the XVIIth century.
Josephi Ant. Jud.
Smith's Biographical Dictionary.
Preface to Pearson's Vindiciæ Ignatiæ.
Lee, Lectures on Inspiration.
Grinfield's Apology for the Septuagint.
Whitaker's Disputation on Scripture in Parker Society.
Schleusneri Lexicon in Nov. Test.
Milman's Latin Christianity, Vol. I.
Clemens Alexandrinus.
St Chrysostom.
Greg. Nazianzen, Oration IV. against Julian.
Warburton's Julian.

PART I. CHAP. II. :

Lee on Inspiration.
Wordsworth's Greek Testament.
S. Augustini Epist. ad Hieronymum; Serm. IV. de Passione; Civ.
Dei, Lib. XVII. &c.
Theodoret, Quæst. in 2 Reg.
Westcott's Introduction to the Study of the Gospels.
Alford's Greek Test.

- Usserii *Syntagma* in Ed. LXX. Interpretum.
 S. Hieronymi *Epist.* LVII. ad Pammachium, on *Esai.* Lib. I.
 „ *Prefatio ad Danielelem Prophetam*, Com. on *Habac.*
Proph.
 Justini *Martyris Opp.* Ed. Otto.
 Ambrosii de *Fide*.
 Tertulliani *Apologeticus*.
 „ *Contra Judæos; Adv. Marcionem.*
 „ *De Cultu Fœminarum.*
 Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, Vol. I.
 Kaye's *Account of Tertullian; Account of Justin Martyr.*
 Prideaux's *Connections*.
 Morini *Prefatio ad Bibliam Latinam et Græcam*, 1628.
 Irenæus, Lib. IV. Ed. Grabe.
 Epiphanius de *Pond. et Mens. Liber.*
 St Chrysostom, *Comm. on Matth.; contra Judæos.*
 Pearson's *Prefatio Parænetica.*
 Origen in *Celsum*, Lib. I. VI.
 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*

PART II. CHAP. I.:

- Irenæus, *Hæc. Lib.* III. IV. Ed. Grabe.
 St Philastrius and Joseppus in Ed. Gallandii *Bibliotheca Patrum*.
 John Gregorie, *Works*, Oxford, 1684.
 St Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*.
 Tertullian, *Apologeticus*.
 S. Hieronymi *Præf. ad Paralipomena; Epist. ad Augustinum; Contra Ruffinum; Prolog. in Genesin; Prolog. in Esaiam.*
 Morini *Prefatio ad Bibliam, Gr. et Lat.*
 D. Joh. Gottlob Carpzovius, *Præf. ad Ed. Vet. Test. LXX.*
 Second *Prolegomena* to Grabe's Edition of LXX. Oxford, 1707.
 Theodoret's *Opera*.
 Cave's *Historia Literaria*.
 Jer. Taylor's *Liberty of Prophecy*.
 S. Augustini *Epistolæ; de Consensu Evang.; de Civitate Dei, &c.*
 St Chrysostom on *Matth. and Hom. IV. on Genesis*.
 Anselm, *Hom. VIII. in Evangelia*.
Critical History of the Old Testament by Father Simon of the Oratory.

PART II. CHAP. II.:

- Father Simon's *Critical History*.
 Whitaker's *Disputation on Scripture*.
 Bingham's *Antiquities*.
 Calmet's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Tertulliani Opera, *passim*.
Cypriani Testimonia contra Judæos.
Ambrosii Opera, Pearsoni Præfatio Parænetica.
S. Hieronymi Comm. in Epist. ad Ephesios, Præf. to Joshua.
„ Comm. in Proph. Habacuc.
S. Augustini de Doctrinâ Christianâ.
Gregorii Magni Opera.

PART II. CHAP. III.:

PEARSON ON THE CREED.
Schleusneri Lexicon in Nov. Test.
„ Lexicon in Vet. Test.
Wordsworth's Greek Test. especially on John i. 14.
Origen in Celsum, Lib. i.
S. Basillii Opera (spurious), Comment. on Isaiah.
Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.
St Chrys. Hom. on Rom. viii.
Anselm, Contra Græcos.
Bull's Harmonia Apostolica.

INDEX.

- ἄβυσσος*, 55
ἀγαπήτης, 103, 104
ἄγιος Ἰσραὴλ, 98
ἀπερὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας, 116, 117
αἰώνιος, 100
Alexander the Great, designs of, 16
Alexandria, foundation of, 16; colony of Jews there, 16, 17; Church of, 25
Alexandrian School, 7, 8, 91, 119
Alford's views on Inspiration, 31 n.
Allegorical interpretation, 8 n.
Almighty, 97
Ambrose on Gen xix. 24, 40, 87, 88; his quotations from the Old Test. 87; his application of the words 'scarabæus a ligno' to Christ, 88, 89
Angel, origin of the word, 83, 84
Anselm's Homilies on the Gospels, 71; his work on the Holy Spirit, 112, n. 1
Antioch, 18, 19; Church of, 20, 25
Antiochia Pisidia, 33
ἄφesis, 115
Apocrypha, 6, 7, 61, 62; use of retained in the Church after Jerome's time, 80
Apollinarius, heresy of, 105
ἀπολυτρόσις, 107
Aquila, Version of, 40, 45, 63, 64, 66, 70, 86
Aristeus, story of, 60, 61; does not mention the cells, 65
Aristo Pellæus, 45
Arius, heresy concerning our Lord's human nature, 105
Athanasius, 24; the Synopsis S. Scripturæ, probably spurious, 69 n.
Augustine, style of, 26; his views on Inspiration, 30; his *Civitas Dei*, 56; his belief in the inspiration of the LXX. 56, 61, 68, 69, 70; his opinions on the labours of Jerome, 71; on the versions from the LXX. 77, 79, 86; his quotations from the Old Test. 86, 87; his distinction between 'credere Deo' and 'credere in Deum,' 94
Azuma, 83
Basil, Comm. in Isaiam, 97; refutes Eunomius, 203; on the nature of the Holy Ghost, 112; on Gen. i. 2, 113
Belief, necessity of, 92; belief on or in, 93, 94
Cells, story of, 55, 60, 61, 65; defended by Gregorie, 60
Celsus, 52, 92
Christ, Christian, origin of the words, 1, 19, 102; Christ crucified, preaching of, 44
Chrysostom at Antioch, 20; his apology against the Greeks, 24; his charges against the Jews, 49, 50; his book against the Jews, 49; his account of the origin of the Septuagint, 70, 72; his mention of versions, 76; translated the Psalms into Armenian, 78
Clement of Rome, 25, 77
Clement of Alexandria, 55, 56

Cross of Christ, Jewish objections to, 43, 44, 45; arguments from prophecy alleged in answer, 43, 45, 55; 88, 89
Cyprian, style of, 26, 82, 84—86
Cyril of Alexandria, 24, 105
Cyril of Jerusalem, 7, 25, 61, 72 n.

δαμνιον, 118

Daniel, Alexandrian Version of, rejected by the Church, 68; attacked by Porphyry, 53

διδωλος, 118

δικαιω, 117

δδξα, 99, 106

Ecclesia, 82; distinguished from *συ-αγωγη*, 83, 104

Ecclesiastical terms introduced from Greek into other languages, 25, 82, 84

Ἑλλην, different meanings of the word, 22—24

Enoch, Apocryphal book of, 42 n, 47

Epiphanius, 7, 25, 49, 61, 70, 72 n.

Eunomius, 103, 105

Eusebius, 53, 61, 73; his testimony concerning the Versions of the Scriptures, 75

ἐξαγορδζω, 107

Exomologesis, 84

Ezra, Apocryphal books of, 42; alleged sayings of, *ib.*; belief that he restored the books lost during the captivity, 59

Galatians, 13

Gallican Psalter, 81

Gaul, ancient Churches of, 13, 25

Greek language, spread of, 2, 8; causes of its propagation, 12, 13; prevalence of Greek in the West, 13, 14, 75; in the East, 18, 19; in Syria and Palestine, 20, 21;

evidences of spread of, in N. T., 22, 23; and the writings of the Fathers, 24; in the Greek character of the Churches of East and West, 25, 26; and assaults of Julian, 27

Gregorie, English author of 17th century, 60

Gregorius Abulpharagius, 77

Gregorius Palamas, 100

Gregory Nazianzen, orations of, 27

Gregory the Great, 80

Hebrew text preferred to the LXX.

by Origen, 49, 62, 63; preserved in greater purity than the text of LXX. 50; attacked by Morinus, 51, 73, 74; known to Eusebius and Chrysostom, 53, 73; Hebrew Canon acknowledged by the Fathers, 6, 7, 73

Hellenistic dialect of Greek, 21

Hellenists, colony of, at Jerusalem, 17

Hezychastic Controversy, 100

Hody, 73

Holy Ghost, doctrine of, 112; the Giver of life, 112; doctrines of Inspiration and Sanctification, 113, 114

Hosts, Lord of, name of God frequently occurring in the Old Testament, 96, 97

λασμος, λαστήριον, 115, 116

Inspiration of Scriptures, Opinions of the Fathers on, 30, 31 n., 72 n.; doctrine of, in Old Test., 113

Irenæus, 25, 41, 59

Jerome, on the extension of Greek colonies, 13; his opinions on the LXX. 36, 63, 64, 65, 67, 72; his letter to Pammachius, 36; his

- answer to Rufinus, 65; his testimony on the three editions of the Septuagint, 61; his two Latin editions of the Bible, 72, 80; unfairness of some of his charges against the LXX. 79, 80; his account of the different interpretations of Hab. ii. 11, 89
- Jerusalem*, Church of, 25; Synod of, 34
- Jews*, influence of LXX. on the conversion of, 1, 3; controversies of Christians with, 3; charged by Christians with corrupting text of LXX. 3, 50, 68, 70; especially by Justin Martyr, 40, 41; Tertullian, 47; Origen, 48, 49; Irenæus, 48; Chrysostom, 49; their traditions, 6, 33, 43, 48; charged the Christians with interpolation, 49; exclusiveness of, 78
- Josephus*, 58, 60, 65
- Joseppus*, 70, 72 n.
- Julian the Apostate*, 27, 54, 92
- Justification*, 117, 118
- Justin Martyr*, 24; his *Dialogue with Trypho*, 38—45; his arguments to prove Christ's divinity, 39; his charge against the Jews, 41; his *Apology*, 54, 55, 60, 105
- κάνθαρος* in Hab. ii. 11, 88, 89
- κτλς*, 101, 102
- Lactantius*, 24, 42
- Latin Versions* from the LXX. 77, 78; character of the Versions, 79
- Lyons and Vienne*, martyrs of, 13
- Marcion*, 105
- Marseilles*, 14
- Melito*, 105
- μερίτης*, 111
- Milman's Latin Christianity*, account of Western Churches by, 25
- μωρογρηγς*, 102, 103
- Morinus*, learned writer of the Church of Rome, 47; his contempt for the Hebraists, 47; his forced application of passages of Tertullian and Irenæus, 48; his attempt to invalidate the Hebrew text, 51; his defence of the LXX. 60; his view of Jerome's expressions, 63, 73; his unfairness in estimating the opinions of Origen, 73, 74; his attempt to collect the ancient Vulgate, 79
- Names* of books of Old Test., 82
- Names* of God, 90; importance of, 94, 95; denotes His presence, 94
- Origen*, 73; his charge of dishonesty against the Jews, 48, 49; his *Hexapla*, 49, 54, 72, 73, 80; opinions concerning his work, 49, 68; against Celsus, 55; his opinions on the LXX. 62
- Pagan writers*, assaults of, 3, 4, 26, 52, 53
- πατήγυρις*, 115.
- παντοκράτωρ*, 90, 96, 97
- Pascha*, 83
- Patriarch*, 84
- Pearson's Præfatio Parænetica*, 8, 79
- Pentateuch*, translated first, 68
- περιποιεῖσθαι*, 107
- Petra*, 83
- Pharos*, Isle of, 61, 66
- Philastrius*, 61, 66, 67, 68, 69 n., 70, 86, 87
- Philo*, 58, 60, 111
- πλήρωμα*, 111
- Porphyrus's* attack on the book of Daniel, 53

Presence of God, 95

Prophecy, argument from, 5

Psalter, two Latin editions of, 80, 81

ψαλτῆρ, 110

Quotations from Old Testament by writers of New Testament, 3, 35—37, 65

Rock, a name of God, 97

Rome, ancient Church of, 25

Ruffinus, 65

ρόμαι, 107

Sabbath, various renderings of in the

LXX. 96, 97

Sanctification, doctrine of, 113, 114

σάπς, 104, 105

Scarabeus, applied to Christ from Hab. ii. 11, 45, 88, 89

SEPTUAGINT Version of the Old Testament, origin of, 3, 17, 54; use

of by the Apostles on the day of

Pentecost, 28, 29, 74; by Stephen,

29, 30; by Philip and the eunuch,

33; by St Paul, 33, 34; by St

James, 34; by the Berceans, 34;

by the writers of the N. T., 35—

37; quoted in Justin Martyr's

Dialogue, 40, 41; little known

before the preaching of Christi-

anity, 51, 52; attacked by Celsus,

52; and Porphyry, 53; belief in

the inspiration of, 55, 60, 61, 72

n.; liturgical use of, 1, 65, 80;

account of, by Philo and Josephus,

60; traditional authority of, in the

Church, 59, 65, 67, 74; received

together with the original of the

N. T. 65, 75, 76; account of, by

Philastrius, 66; regarded as Di-

vine by Augustine, 56, 61, 68,

69; charges brought by Jerome

against the Version, 68; depre-

ciated in the East, 70; account of its origin by Chrysostom, 70; respected by Anselm, 71; not preferred to the Hebrew by the Fathers, 47, 51, 73; used generally in the West by Jews and Christians, 78, 79; Latin and other Versions from the LXX. 5, 75, 76, &c.; Version of Hab. ii. 11, 88, 89; doctrinal terms derived from, 90, 91, &c.; Rock, as a name of God, suppressed in it, 97; language of the Version concerning the Holy Spirit, 112; originated the word *μεστρς*, 111

σκηβω, in John i. 14, 106

Stephen, probably a Hellenist, 39;

defence of, 29—32; alleged mis-

takes, 31

Strabo, on the spread of Greek in-

fluence, 14

συναγωγή, 83, 114

Symmachus, Version of, 66

Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae, in the works of Athanasius, 7, 69

Syriac Versions, 72, 77

Tacitus, account of Marseilles by, 14

Talmud, 46

Tatianus Assyrius, 24

Technical terms transcribed from the Greek, 84, 85

Temple of Solomon, type of Church, 11

Tertullian's testimony on the use of the LXX. by the Jews, 3, 40; his use of the word 'Græcari,' 24; style of, 26, 82, 83; his controversial works against the Jews, 46; his quotations from the Old Test. 46, 47; his *Liber Apologeticus*, 60; his account of the LXX., 60; his book *de Carne Christi*, 105; his exposition of Gen. i. 2, 113

- Theodoret*, on Inspiration, 31; on the Versions from the LXX. 76
Tongues, gift of, 29, 34, 76, 90, 91
Traditional authority of LXX. 34
Traditions of Jews, 6, 33, 43, 48
TREE put for the Cross of Christ, in reference to Deut. xxi. 23; 43, 44, 45, 88, 89
Twelve Tribes, whether kept distinct after captivity, 17 and note
Ulphilas, 78
Uncreated light, 100
Universal respect for LXX. 4, 34
ὑψιστος, 90, 98
Versions from LXX. 5, 75; Eusebius' account of, 75; testimony of Theodoret, 76; Versions mentioned by Jerome and Chrysostom, 76; the Syriac Versions, 72, 77
Vulgate, old and new, 72, 79—81
West, ancient Churches of, 25, 89
Westcott's Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, 7 n., 31 n.
ξῆλος, 43—45, 88—89, 107
Zelans, *zelotes*, applied to God, 84, 85

THE END.

New Works and New Editions

PUBLISHED BY

MACMILLAN AND CO.

CAMBRIDGE,

AND 23, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON, W.C.

COMPLETION OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE.

EDITED BY DAVID MASSON.

PRICE ONE SHILLING MONTHLY.

Volumes I. to III. are now published, price 7s. 6d. each, handsomely bound in cloth.

RAVENSHOE;

OR, THE ADVENTURES OF A YOUNG ENGLISH GENTLEMAN.

Is now in course of publication in this Magazine.

VACATION TOURISTS, AND NOTES OF TRAVEL IN 1860.

EDITED BY FRANCIS GALTON, M.A. F.R.S.

8vo. cloth, price 14s. with Maps and Illustrations,

Contents:—1. *Naples and Garibaldi*, by W. G. CLARK, M.A. F.R.G.S.
2. *Croatia and Hungary*, by G. SPOTTISWOODE. 3. *Slavonic Races*,
by R. D. 4. *Sutherlandshire*, by G. H. K. 5. *Peru*, by C. C.
BOWEN. 6. *Graian Alps and Mount Iseran*, by J. J. COWELL.
7. *Allelein-Horn*, by LESLIE STEPHEN, M.A. 8. *Mont Cervin*
(*Matterhorn*), by F. V. HAWKINS, M.A. 9. *Lauwinen Thor*, by
J. TYNDALL, F.R.S. 10. *Iceland*, by J. W. CLARK, M.A. 11.
Norway, by H. F. TOZER, M.A. 12. *North Spain and the Eclipse*,
by the EDITOR. 13. *Syrian Travel and Syrian Tribes*, by the Hon.
RODEN NOEL, M.A.

"It was a happy thought to collect into a volume the notes of a number of travellers made in the course of last year. Here are thirteen gentlemen who have been all over the world, in all sorts of places, for all sorts of purposes, and who give us the result of their experiences in thirteen most amusing essays admirably edited by Mr. Galton."—*Times*, April 4, 1861.

s.s.61.

2,000 Crown.

A

BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

PRICE FIVE SHILLINGS EACH.

TOM BROWN'S SCHOOL-DAYS. By AN OLD BOY. With a new Preface. Twenty-sixth Thousand. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

"Those manly, honest thoughts, expressed in plain words, will, we trust, long find an echo in thousands of English hearts."—*Quarterly Review*.

OUR YEAR. A Child's Book in Prose and Rhyme. By the Author of "John Halifax." With numerous Illustrations by CLARENCE DOBELL. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

"Just the book we could wish to see in the hands of every child."—*English Churchman*.

PROFESSOR KINGSLEY'S HEROES, OR GREEK FAIRY TALES FOR MY CHILDREN. New Edition, with Illustrations. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

"A welcome and delightful volume, for the stories are prose poems both as to matter and manner."—*Eclectic Review*.

RUTH AND HER FRIENDS. A Story for Girls. With Frontispiece. Third Edition. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

"A book which girls will read with avidity, and cannot fail to profit by."—*Literary Churchman*.

DAYS OF OLD: Stories from Old English History. By the Author of "Ruth and Her Friends." With Frontispiece. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

"A delightful little book, full of interest and instruction . . . fine feeling, dramatic weight, and descriptive power in the stories."—*Literary Gazette*.

AGNES HOPETOUN'S SCHOOLS AND HOLIDAYS. By MRS. OLIPHANT (Author of "Margaret Maitland"). With Frontispiece. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

"—Described with exquisite reality . . . teaching the young pure and good lessons."—*John Bull*.

LITTLE ESTELLA, AND OTHER FAIRY TALES. By MAY BEVERLEY. With Frontispiece. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

"Very pretty, pure in conception, and simply, gracefully related . . . genuine story telling."—*Daily News*.

DAVID, KING OF ISRAEL. A History for the Young. By JOSIAH WRIGHT, Head Master of Sutton Coldfield Grammar School. With Illustrations. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

"An excellent book . . . well conceived, and well worked out."—*Literary Churchman*.

MY FIRST JOURNAL: A Book for Children. By GEORGINA M. CRAIK, Author of "Lost and Won." With Frontispiece. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 4s. 6d.

"True to Nature and to a fine kind of nature: . . . the style is simple and graceful . . . a work of Art, clever and healthy toned."—*Globe*.

POPULAR NOVELS.

ELSIE VENNER ; A ROMANCE OF DESTINY. By
O. W. HOLMES, Author of "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table."
Fcap. 8vo. cloth, price 6s.

"A remarkable work, bright with intelligence, humour, and warmth of heart."—*Globe*.

THE MOOR COTTAGE : A TALE OF HOME LIFE. By
MAY BEVERLEY, Author of "Little Estella, and other Fairy Tales for the Young." Crown 8vo. cloth, price 10s. 6d.

"This charming tale is told with such excellent art, that it reads like an episode from real life."—*Atlas*.

A SIX SHILLING EDITION OF
PROFESSOR KINGSLEY'S WESTWARD HO! Crown
8vo. cloth.

"Almost the best Historical Novel, to our mind, of the day."—*Fraser's Magazine*.

A SIX SHILLING EDITION OF
PROFESSOR KINGSLEY'S TWO YEARS AGO. Crown
8vo. cloth.

"Genial, large-hearted, humorous, with a quick eye, and a keen relish alike for what is beautiful in nature, and for what is genuine, strong, and earnest in man."—*The Guardian*.

A SIX SHILLING EDITION OF
**MR. HENRY KINGSLEY'S RECOLLECTIONS OF
GEOFFREY HAMLYN.** Crown 8vo. cloth.

"Mr. Henry Kingsley is no ordinary writer. He has both the eye and the heart of a poet; and like a true poet he knows how to reach the hearts of others."—*Freeman*.

ARTIST AND CRAFTSMAN.

Crown 8vo. cloth, price 10s. 6d.

"Its power is unquestionable, its felicity of expression great, its plot fresh, and its characters very natural . . . Wherever read, it will be enthusiastically admired and cherished."—*Morning Herald*.

A LADY IN HER OWN RIGHT. By WESTLAND MARSTON.
Crown 8vo. cloth, price 10s. 6d.

"Since 'The Mill on the Floss' was noticed, we have read no work of fiction which we can so heartily recommend to our readers as 'A Lady in her own right': the plot, incidents, and characters are all good: the style is simple and graceful: it abounds in thoughts judiciously introduced and well expressed, and throughout a kind, liberal, and gentle spirit."—*Church of England Monthly Review*.

**YES AND NO ; OR, GLIMPSES OF THE GREAT
CONFLICT.** Three Vols. crown 8vo. cloth, price 1l. 11s. 6d.

"Original in conception . . . Of the merits of the book as a piece of writing, it is almost impossible to speak too highly—so unaffectedly sincere, so clear and impressive, so graceful and so strong is it."—*Nonconformist*.

BRITISH NOVELISTS AND THEIR STYLES ; being a
Critical Sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction. By DAVID
MASSON, M.A. Crown 8vo. cloth, 7s. 6d.

NEW WORKS AND NEW EDITIONS,

ROME IN 1860.

By EDWARD DICEY.

Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6s. 6d.

"The writing of the whole book is terse, direct, and, because of sound judgment in selection of details, and the total absence of waste writing, very graphic. Written in plain unaffected English, intent everywhere upon its subject."—EXAMINER, March 23, 1861.

"So striking and apparently so faithful a portrait. It is the Rome of real life he has depicted."—SPECTATOR, March 23, 1861.

THE ITALIAN WAR OF 1848-9,

And the Last Italian Poet. By the late HENRY LUSHINGTON, Chief Secretary to the Government of Malta. With a Biographical Preface by G. STOVIN VENABLES.

Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s. 6d.

"As the writer warms with his subject, he reaches a very uncommon and characteristic degree of excellence. The narrative becomes lively and graphic, and the language is full of eloquence. Perhaps the most difficult of all literary tasks—the task of giving historical unity, dignity, and interest, to events so recent as to be still encumbered with all the details with which newspapers invest them—has never been more successfully discharged. . . . Mr. Lushington, in a very short compass, shows the true nature and sequence of the event, and gives to the whole story of the struggle and defeat of Italy a degree of unity and dramatic interest which not one newspaper reader in ten thousand ever supposed it to possess."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

SCOURING OF THE WHITE HORSE.

By the Author of "TOM BROWN'S SCHOOL DAYS."

With numerous Illustrations by RICHARD DOYLE. Eighth Thousand. Imp. 16mo. printed on toned paper, gilt leaves. 8s. 6d.

The execution is excellent. . . . Like Tom Brown's School Days, the White Horse gives the reader a feeling of gratitude and personal esteem towards the author. The author could not have a better style, nor a better temper, nor a more excellent artist than Mr. Doyle to adorn his book."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

EDITED BY W. G. CLARK, M.A.

Public Orator in the University of Cambridge.

George Brimley's Essays. With Portrait.

Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 5s.

"One of the most delightful and precious volumes of criticism that has appeared in these days. . . . To every cultivated reader they will disclose the wonderful clearness of perception, the delicacy of feeling, the pure taste, and the remarkably firm and decisive judgment which are the characteristics of all Mr. Brimley's writings on subjects that really penetrated and fully possessed his nature."—NONCONFORMIST.

Cambridge Scrap-Book. Containing in a Pictorial Form a Report on the Manners, Customs, Humours, and Pastimes of the University of Cambridge. Containing nearly 300 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 4to. half-bound, 7s. 6d.

Volunteer's Scrap-Book. A Series of Humorous Sketches Illustrative of the Volunteer Movement. By the Author of the "CAMBRIDGE SCRAP-BOOK." Fancy boards, half-bound, 7s. 6d.

NEW VOLUME BY DR. TEMPLE.

Sermons preached in Rugby School Chapel in 1858, 1859, 1860. By the Rev. FREDERICK TEMPLE, D.D. Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty, Head-Master of Rugby School, Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Denbigh. 8vo. price 10s. 6d.

BY ALEXANDER SMITH,

Author of a "Life Drama, and other Poems."

City Poems. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 5s.

"He has attained at times to a quiet continuity of thought, and sustained strength of coherent utterance . . . he gives us many passages that sound the deeps of feeling, and leave us satisfied with their sweetness."—NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

A Life Drama and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. 6d.

BY JOHN MALCOLM LUDLOW,

Barrister-at-Law.

British India, its Races, and its History, down to the Mutinies of 1857. 2 vols. fcap. 8vo. cloth, 9s.

"The best historical Indian manual existing, one that ought to be in the hands of every man who writes, speaks, or votes on the Indian question."—EXAMINER.

"The best elementary work on the History of India."—HOMEWARD MAIL.

**WORKS BEARING ON THEOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES.
FOR STUDENTS AND GENERAL READERS.**

BY THE REV. T. R. BIRKS,

Author of "The Life of the Rev. E. Bickersteth."

**Difficulties of Belief, in connexion with Creation
and the Fall.** Crown 8vo. cloth, 4s. 6d.

BY THE REV. F. D. MAURICE.

Incumbent of St. Peter's, Marylebone.

Theological Essays. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

BY THE REV. HENRY CALDERWOOD.

Of Greyfriars' Church, Glasgow.

Philosophy of the Infinite :

A Treatise on Man's Knowledge of the Infinite Being, in Answer
to Sir Wm. Hamilton and Mr. Mansel.

Second Edition, greatly enlarged. 8vo. cloth, 14s.

BY THE REV. H. C. GROVES, M.A.

Perpetual Curate of Mullavilly, Diocese of Armagh.

**A Commentary on the First Book of Moses, called
Genesis.** For the Use of Students and Readers of the
English Version of the Bible. Crown 8vo. cloth, 9s.

BY THE REV. B. F. WESTCOTT,

Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Characteristics of the Gospel Miracles. Sermons preached
before the University of Cambridge. With Notes.
Crown 8vo. cloth, 4s. 6d.

BY THE REV. J. LLEWELYN DAVIES,

Rector of Christ Church, St. Marylebone.

The Work of Christ ; or, the World reconciled to God.
With a Preface on the Atonement Controversy. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 6s.

BY THE REV. J. M. CAMPBELL,

Author of "Christ the Bread of Life."

**The Nature of the Atonement, and its Relation to
Remission of Sins and Eternal Life.** 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

BY THE REV. R. TUDOR,

Curate of Helston, Cornwall.

The Decalogue viewed as the Christian's Law :
With Special Reference to the Questions and Wants of the Times.
Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Platonic Dialogues, for English Readers. By W. WHEWELL, D.D. F.R.S. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Volume III. containing the REPUBLIC.

[*In the Press.*]

Volume I. Second Edition, containing the ANTI-SOPHIST DIALOGUES. 7s. 6d.

Volume II. containing the SOCRATIC DIALOGUES. 7s. 6d.

"In the present instance we have most appropriately one of the deepest thinkers of the present day making the Platonic Dialogues as intelligible in an English garb, to the English reader, as they are in the original to himself and the comparatively few scholars. . . . The Dialogues are rendered additionally intelligible, and, indeed, interesting to the English reader, by copious explanatory passages thrown in parenthetically here and there, and sufficiently distinguished from the translated portions by being unaccompanied by the marks of quotation which distinguish the translation throughout. In addition to this, the translation itself merits high praise; while by no means the least valuable portions of the volume are the 'Remarks' at the conclusion of each Dialogue."—GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO.

A New Translation into English. With an Analysis and Notes. By J. LL. DAVIES, M.A., and D. J. VAUGHAN, M.A., Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. SECOND EDITION.

8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

"So eloquent and correct a version will, we trust, induce many to become students of the Republic. . . . The whole book is scholarlike and able."—GUARDIAN.

"Free, nervous, idiomatic English, such as will fascinate the reader."—NONCONFORMIST.

Memoir of George Wilson, M.D. F.R.S.E. Regius Professor of Technology in the University of Edinburgh. By his Sister, JESSIE AITKIN WILSON. With Portrait, 8vo. cloth, 14s.

The Five Gateways of Knowledge. A Popular Work on the Five Senses. By GEORGE WILSON, M.D.

In fcap. 8vo. cloth, with gilt leaves, 2s. 6d.

PEOPLE'S EDITION, in ornamental stiff covers, 1s.

"Dr. Wilson unites poetic with scientific faculty, and this union gives a charm to all he writes. In the little volume before us he has described the Five Senses in language so popular that a child may comprehend the meaning, so suggestive that philosophers will read it with pleasure."—LEADER.

The Progress of the Telegraph. By GEORGE WILSON, M.D.

Fcap. 8vo. 1s.

"Most interesting and instructive . . . at once scientific and popular, religious and technical; a worthy companion to the 'Gateways of Knowledge.'"—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

MEMOIR OF THE REV. GEORGE WAGNER,

Late of St. Stephen's, Brighton.

By J. N. SIMPKINSON, M.A., Rector of Brighton,
Northampton. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 9s.

"A deeply interesting picture of the life of one of a class of men who are indeed
the salt of this land."—MORNING HERALD.

BY FRANCIS MORSE, M.A.

Incumbent of St. John's, Ladywood, Birmingham.

Working for God. And other Practical Sermons.

Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

"For soundness of doctrine, lucidity of style, and above all for their practical
teaching, these sermons will commend themselves."—JOHN BULL.

"There is much earnest, practical teaching in this volume."—ENGLISH
CHURCHMAN.

BY THE REV. D. J. VAUGHAN, M.A.,

Rector of St. Martin's, Leicester, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

1. Sermons Preached in St. John's Church, Leicester,
during the years 1855 and 1856. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5s. 6d.

2. Three Sermons on the Atonement.

With a Preface.

Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

3. Sermons on the Resurrection. With a Preface.

Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s.

BY THE REV. J. F. THRUPP, M.A.

Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Introduction to the Study and Use of the Psalms.

Two Vols. 8vo. 21s.

"What Mr. Thrupp has attempted he has for the most part done well. The plan,
considering that the author appeals to the great body of English readers, is
admirable. The result is a volume as interestingly readable as it is critically
valuable. We commend these volumes with peculiar satisfaction and confidence
to the earnest attention of all students of sacred Scripture."—FREEMAN.

Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects.

Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

By F. D. MAURICE, PROFESSOR KINGSLEY, J. LL. DAVIES, ARCHDEACON ALLEN, DEAN TRENCH, PROFESSOR BREWER, DR. GEORGE JOHNSON, DR. SIMPKING, DR. CHAMBERS, F. J. STEPHEN, ESQ. and TOM TAYLOR, ESQ.

CONTENTS:—Plan of Female Colleges—The College and the Hospital—The Country Parish—Overwork and Anxiety—Dispensaries—District Visiting—Influence of Occupation on Health—Law as it affects the Poor—Everyday Work of Ladies—Teaching by Words—Sanitary Law—Workhouse Visiting.

"We scarcely know a volume containing more sterling good sense, or a finer expression of modern intelligence on social subjects."—CHAMBERS' JOURNAL.

BY JOHN PHILLIPS, M.A. L.L.D. F.R.S.

Professor of Geology in the University of Oxford.

Life on the Earth : its Origin and Succession.

"A convenient summary of what is already known and generally credited by our principal Geologists."—ATHENÆUM.

"A careful and condensed summary of the present unquestionably result of scientific research, from one who has great clearness, and soundness of intellect, and the richest and completest knowledge."—NONCONFORMIST.

BY C. A. SWAINSON, M.A.

Principal of the Theological College, and Prebendary of Chichester.

1. The Authority of the New Testament ; the Conviction of Righteousness, and other Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge. 8vo. cloth, 12s.

"These remarkable Lectures deal with most engrossing subjects in an honest and vigorous spirit. The religious topics which are now uppermost in the mind of the thoughtful classes among us, and which are fundamental to the Christian, are here grappled with, we gladly acknowledge, in a courageous, straightforward way. The reader is led to think healthily and calmly. . . . Our readers will do well to obtain the book and read it all, there is so much in it of abiding value."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

2. The Creeds of the Church. In their Relations to the Word of God and the Conscience of the Christian. 8vo. cloth, 9s.
3. A Handbook to Butler's Analogy. With a few Notes. 1s. 6d.

THE WORKS OF

WILLIAM ARCHER BUTLER, M.A.,

Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin.

FIVE VOLUMES 8vo. UNIFORMLY PRINTED AND BOUND.

"A man of glowing genius and diversified accomplishments, whose remains fill these five brilliant volumes."—EDINBURGH REVIEW.

SOLD SEPARATELY AS FOLLOWS.

1. Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. FIRST SERIES
Edited by the Very Rev. THOS. WOODWARD, M.A., Dean of Down
With a Memoir and Portrait. Fifth Edition. 8vo. cloth, 12s

"Present a richer combination of the qualities for Sermons of the first class than any we have met with in any living writer."—BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

2. Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. SECOND SERIES.
Edited by J. A. JEREMIE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in
the University of Cambridge. Third Edition. 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

"They are marked by the same originality and vigour of expression, the same richness of imagery and illustration, the same large views and catholic spirit, and the same depth and fervour of devotional feeling, which so remarkably distinguished the preceding Series, and which rendered it a most valuable accession to our theological literature."—FROM DR. JEREMIE'S PREFACE.

3. Letters on Romanism, in Reply to DR. NEWMAN'S Essay on
Development. Edited by the Very Rev. THOMAS WOODWARD, M.A.,
Dean of Down. SECOND EDITION. Revised by the Ven. ARCH-
DEACON HARDWICK. 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

"Deserve to be considered the most remarkable proofs of the Author's indomitable energy and power of concentration."—EDINBURGH REVIEW.

4. Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy.
Edited from the Author's MSS., with Notes, by WILLIAM HEP-
WORTH THOMPSON, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the
University of Cambridge. 2 vols. 8vo., £1 5s.

"Of the dialectic and physics of Plato they are the only exposition at once full, accurate, and popular, with which I am acquainted: being far more accurate than the French, and incomparably more popular than the German treatises on these departments of the Platonic philosophy."—FROM PROF. THOMPSON'S PREFACE.

THE WORKS OF

JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A.,

Sometimes Archdeacon of Lewes, Rector of Herstmonceux, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge.

NINE VOLS. 8vo. UNIFORMLY PRINTED AND BOUND.

1. Charges to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes. During 1840 to 1854, with Notes on the Principal Events affecting the Church during that period. And an Introduction, explanatory of his position in the Church, with reference to the Parties which divide it.
3 vols. 8vo. cloth, £1 11s. 6d.
2. Miscellaneous Pamphlets on some of the Leading Questions agitated in the Church during the years 1845 to 1851.
8vo. cloth, 12s.
3. Vindication of Luther against his recent English Assailants. Second Edition. 8vo. cloth, 7s.
4. The Mission of the Comforter. With Notes. Second Edition. 8vo. cloth, 12s.
5. The Victory of Faith. Second Edition. 8vo. cloth, 5s.
6. Parish Sermons. Second Series. 8vo. cloth, 12s.
7. Sermons preached on Particular Occasions. 8vo. 12s.

The two following books are included among the collected Charges, but are published separately for purchasers of the rest.

- Charges to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes. Delivered in the years 1843, 1845, 1846. Never before published. With an Introduction, explanatory of his position in the Church, with reference to the Parties that divide it.
8vo. cloth, 6s. 6d.
- The Contest with Rome. A Charge, delivered in 1851. With Notes, especially in answer to DR. NEWMAN on the Position of Catholics in England. Second Edition. 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

THE WORKS OF

CHARLES KINGSLEY, M.A.

*Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Rector of Eversley,
and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge.*

1. **The Limits of Exact Science as Applied to History.**
An Inaugural Lecture, delivered before the University of
Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 2s.
2. **Two Years Ago.** Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s.
*"Genial, large hearted, humorous, with a quick eye and a keen relish alike
for what is beautiful in nature and for what is genuine, strong, and earnest in
man."—GUARDIAN.*
3. **"Westward Ho!" or the Voyages and Adven-
tures of Sir Amyas Leigh, Knight, of Burrough, in the County
of Devon, in the reign of Her most Glorious Majesty Queen
Elizabeth.** New Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s.
*"Almost the best historical novel to our mind of the day."—FRAZER'S
MAGAZINE.*
4. **The Heroes: Greek Fairy Tales for my Children.**
New and Cheaper Edition, with Eight Illustrations. Royal 16mo.
beautifully printed on toned paper, gilt edges, 5s.
*"We doubt not they will be read by many a youth with an enchained interest
almost as strong as the links which bound Andromeda to her rock."—BRITISH
QUARTERLY.*
5. **Glaucus; or, the Wonders of the Shore.** A Com-
panion for the Sea-side. Containing Coloured Illustrations of the
Objects mentioned in the Work. Fourth Edition. Beautifully
printed and bound in cloth, gilt leaves. 7s. 6d.
*"Its pages sparkle with life, they open up a thousand sources of unanticipated
pleasure, and combine amusement with instruction in a very happy and unwonted
degree."—ECLECTIC REVIEW.*
6. **Phaethon; or, Loose Thoughts for Loose Thinkers.**
Third Edition. Crown 8vo. boards, 2s.
7. **Alexandria and Her Schools.** Four Lectures delivered
at the Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh. With a Preface.
Crown 8vo. cloth, 5s.

WORKS

BY C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D.

Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Vicar of Doncaster, and Chancellor of York Cathedral.

1. Notes for Lectures on Confirmation. With Suitable Prayers. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. limp cloth, red leaves, 1s. 6d.
2. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The Greek Text with English Notes. 8vo. cloth, 7s. 6d.
3. Memorials of Harrow Sundays. A Selection of Sermons preached in the School Chapel. With a View of the Interior of the Chapel. Third Edition. To which is added Two additional Sermons. Crown 8vo. cloth, red leaves, 10s. 6d.
 *** Purchasers of the FIRST and SECOND EDITIONS may obtain copies of the additional Sermons from their respective Booksellers, price 6d.
4. Epiphany, Lent, and Easter. A Selection of Expository Sermons. Second Edition. To which is added several new Sermons. Crown 8vo. cloth, red leaves. 10s. 6d.
 *** Purchasers of the First Edition may obtain copies of the *Additional Sermons* from their respective Booksellers, price 3s.
5. Revision of the Liturgy. Five Discourses. With an Introduction. I. Absolution. II. Regeneration. III. The Athanasian Creed. IV. Burial Service. V. Holy Orders. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. cloth, red leaves (1860), 117 pp. 4s. 6d.
6. Rays of Sunlight for Dark Days. A Book of Select Readings for the Suffering. With a Preface by C. J. Vaughan, D.D. Royal 16mo. Elegantly printed with red lines, and handsomely bound, red edges, 4s. 6d.

BY CORNWALL SIMEON.

Stray Notes on Fishing and Natural History. With
Illustrations. 7s. 6d.

"If this remarkably agreeable work does not rival in popularity the celebrated 'White's Selborne,' it will not be because it does not deserve it . . . the mind is almost satiated with a repletion of strange facts and good things."—FIELD, July 28, 1860.

BY THE RIGHT REV. G. E. LYNCH COTTON, D.D.,
Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India.

Sermons and Addresses delivered in Marlborough
College, during Six Years.

Crown 8vo. cloth, price 10s. 6d.

"We can heartily recommend this volume as a most suitable present for a youth, or for family reading; wherever there are young persons, the teaching of these discourses will be admirable."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

Sermons: Chiefly connected with Public Events in 1854.

Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s.

"A volume of which we can speak with high admiration."

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCE.

Charge delivered to the Clergy of Calcutta at his
Primary Visitation in September, 1859. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

THE ORE-SEEKER.

A Tale of the Hartz Mountains. By A. S. M.
Illustrated by L. C. H. Printed on toned paper, with elaborate
full-page Illustrations and Initial Letters, and bound in elegant
cloth with gilt leaves, 15s.

This work is most elaborately illustrated, and is published as a
Christmas present. The OBSERVER of Nov. 18, 1860, says of it:—

"One of the most beautiful of the illustrated volumes published in the present season, and one pre-eminently fitted for a Christmas present. . . . Love and truth beautify the story, and render it delightful to all persons. . . . The illustrations are many of the finest specimens extant."

BY THE VENBLE. ARCHDEACON HARDWICK.

1. Christ and other Masters: A Historical Inquiry into some of the chief Parallelisms and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World.

Religions of China, America, and Oceanica. In one volume.

Religions of Egypt and Medo-Persia. In one volume.

8vo. cloth, 7s. 6d. each.

"Never was so difficult and complicated a subject as the history of Pagan religion handled so ably, and at the same time rendered so lucid and attractive."
—COLONIAL CHURCH CHRONICLE.

2. History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages

With Maps. Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

3. History of the Christian Church during the Reformation.

Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

4. Sermons Preached to Town Congregations.

Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s. 6d.

BY THE VERY REV. R. C. TRENCH, D.D.,

Dean of Westminster.

1. Synonyms of the New Testament.

Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 5s.

2. Hulsean Lectures for 1845—46.

CONTENTS. 1.—The Fitness of Holy Scripture for unfolding the Spiritual Life of Man. 2.—Christ the Desire of all Nations; or the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom.

Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 5s.

3. Sermons Preached before the University of Cambridge.

Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. 6d.

BY DAVID MASSON, M.A.,

Professor of English Literature in University College, London.

1. Life of John Milton, narrated in connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time. Vol. I. 8vo. With Portraits. 18s.

"Mr. Masson's Life of Milton has many sterling merits . . . his industry is immense; his zeal unflagging; his special knowledge of Milton's life and times extraordinary . . . with a zeal and industry which we cannot sufficiently commend, he has not only availed himself of the biographical stores collected by his predecessors, but imparted to them an aspect of novelty by his skilful re-arrangement."—EDINBURGH REVIEW. April, 1860.

2. British Novelists and their Styles: Being a Critical Sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction. Crown 8vo. cloth, 7s. 6d.

"A work eminently calculated to win popularity, both by the soundness of its doctrine and the skill of its art."—THE PRESS.

3. Essays, Biographical and Critical: chiefly on English Poets. 8vo. cloth, 12s. 6d.

CONTENTS.

- I. Shakespeare and Goethe.—II. Milton's Youth.—III. The Three Devils: Luther's, Milton's, and Goethe's.—IV. Dryden, and the Literature of the Restoration.—V. Dean Swift.—VI. Chatterton: a Story of the Year 1770.—VII. Wordsworth.—VIII. Scottish Influence on British Literature.—IX. Theories of Poetry.—X. Prose and Verse: De Quincey.

"Distinguished by a remarkable power of analysis, a clear statement of the actual facts on which speculation is based, and an appropriate beauty of language. These Essays should be popular with serious men."—THE ATHENÆUM.

THE ILIAD OF HOMER.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE.

- By I. C. WRIGHT, M.A., Translator of "Dante," late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Books I.—XII. Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.; or in 2 separate Parts, 5s. each.

"We know of no edition of the 'sovereign poet' from which an English reader can derive on the whole so complete an impression of the immortal Epos."—DAILY NEWS.

THE WORKS OF THE REV.

FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, M.A.,

Incumbent of St. Peter's, Vere Street, St. Marylebone.

Lectures on the Apocalypse, or Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine.	Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.
What is Revelation? With Letters on Mr. Mansel's Bampton Lectures.	10s. 6d.
Sequel to the Inquiry, "What is Revelation?" With Letters on Mr. Mansel's Strictures.	6s.
Exposition of the Holy Scriptures:	
(1.) The Patriarchs and Lawgivers.	6s.
(2.) The Prophets and Kings.	10s. 6d.
(3.) The Gospel of St. John.	10s. 6d.
(4.) The Epistles of St. John.	7s. 6d.
Exposition of the Ordinary Services of the Prayer Book:	5s. 6d.
Ecclesiastical History.	10s. 6d.
The Doctrine of Sacrifice.	7s. 6d.
Theological Essays. Second Edition.	10s. 6d.
The Religions of the World. Third Edition.	5s.
Learning and Working.	5s.
The Indian Crisis. Five Sermons.	2s. 6d.
The Sabbath, and other Sermons.	2s. 6d.
Law on the Fable of the Bees.	4s. 6d.

The Worship of the Church. A Witness for the Redemption of the World.	1s.
The Name Protestant, and the English Bishopric at Jerusalem. Second Edition.	3s.
The Duty of a Protestant in the Oxford Election. 1847.	1s.
The Case of Queen's College, London.	1s. 6d.
Death and Life. In Memoriam C.B.M.	1s.
Administrative Reform.	3d.

MANUALS FOR THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS,

UNIFORMLY PRINTED AND BOUND.

This Series of Theological Manuals has been published with the aim of supplying books concise, comprehensive, and accurate, convenient for the Student and yet interesting to the general reader.

I.

Introduction to the Study of the Gospels. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, M.A. formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

"The worth of Mr. Westcott's volume for the spiritual interpretation of the Gospels is greater than we can readily express even by the most grateful and approving words. It presents with an unparalleled completeness—the characteristic of the book everywhere being this completeness—wholeness of view, comprehensiveness of representation, the fruits of sacred learning."—NON-CONFORMIST.

II.

A General View of the History of the Canon of the New Testament during the FIRST FOUR CENTURIES. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, M.A.

Crown 8vo. cloth, 12s. 6d.

"The Author is one of those who are teaching us that it is possible to rife the storehouses of German theology, without bearing away the taint of their atmosphere: and to recognise the value of their accumulated treasures, and even track the vagaries of their theoretic ingenuity, without abandoning in the pursuit the clear sight and sound feeling of English common sense It is by far the best and most complete book of the kind; and we should be glad to see it well placed on the lists of our examining chaplains."—GUARDIAN.

"Learned, dispassionate, discriminating, worthy of his subject, and the present state of Christian Literature in relation to it."—BRITISH QUARTERLY.

"To the student in Theology it will prove an admirable Text-Book: and to all others who have any curiosity on the subject it will be satisfactory as one of the most useful and instructive pieces of history which the records of the Church supply."—LONDON QUARTERLY.

THEOLOGICAL MANUALS—continued.

III.

History of the Christian Church, during the Middle Ages and the Reformation (A.D. 590–1600).

By the Venerable CHARLES HARDWICK, Archdeacon of Ely.

2 vols. crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. each.

Vol. I. History of the Church to the Excommunication of Luther With Four Maps.

Vol. II. History of the Reformation.

Each Volume may be had separately.

"Full in references and authority, systematic and formal in division, with enough of life in the style to counteract the dryness inseparable from its brevity, and exhibiting the results rather than the principles of investigation. MR. HARDWICK is to be congratulated on the successful achievement of a difficult task."

—CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCE.

"He has bestowed patient and extensive reading on the collection of his materials; he has selected them with judgment; and he presents them in an equable and compact style."—SPECTATOR.

"To a good method and good materials MR. HARDWICK adds that great virtue, a perfectly transparent style. We did not expect to find great literary qualities in such a manual, but we have found them; we should be satisfied in this respect with conciseness and intelligibility; but while this book has both, it is also elegant, highly finished, and highly interesting."—NONCONFORMIST.

IV.

History of the Book of Common Prayer,

together with a Rationale of the several Offices. By FRANCIS PROCTER, M.A., Vicar of Witton, Norfolk, formerly Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. Fourth Edition, revised and enlarged.

Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

"MR. PROCTER'S 'History of the Book of Common Prayer' is by far the best commentary extant Not only do the present illustrations embrace the whole range of original sources indicated by MR. PALMER, but MR. PROCTER compares the present Book of Common Prayer with the Scotch and American forms; and he frequently sets out in full the Sarum Offices. As a manual of extensive information, historical and ritual, imbued with sound Church principles, we are entirely satisfied with MR. PROCTER'S important volume."

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCE.

"It is indeed a complete and fairly-written history of the Liturgy; and from the dispassionate way in which disputed points are touched on, will prove to many troubled consciences what ought to be known to them, viz.:—that they may, without fear of compromising the principles of evangelical truth, give their assent and consent to the contents of the Book of Common Prayer. MR. PROCTER has done a great service to the Church by this admirable digest."

CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY.

MACMILLAN AND CO.'S

Class Books for Colleges and Schools.

I. ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA.

Arithmetic. For the use of Schools. By BARNARD SMITH, M.A.
New Edition (1861). 348 pp. Answers to all the Questions. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Key to the above. Second Edition, thoroughly Revised (1860).
382 pp. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.

Arithmetic and Algebra in their Principles and Applications.
With numerous Examples, systematically arranged. By BARNARD SMITH, M.A.
Seventh Edition (1860), 696 pp. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Exercises in Arithmetic. By BARNARD SMITH, M.A. Part I.
48 pp. (1860). Crown 8vo. 1s. Part II. 56 pp. (1860). Crown 8vo. 1s. Answers,
6d. The Two Parts bound together 2s.; or with Answers, 2s. 6d.

Arithmetic in Theory and Practice. For Advanced Pupils. By
J. BROOK SMITH, M.A. Part First. 164 pp. (1860). Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

A Short Manual of Arithmetic. By C. W. UNDERWOOD, M.A.
96 pp. (1860). Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Algebra. For the use of Colleges and Schools. By I. TODHUNTER,
M.A. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 516 pp. (1860). 7s. 6d.

II. TRIGONOMETRY.

Introduction to Plane Trigonometry. For the use of Schools.
By J. C. SNOWBALL, M.A. Second Edition (1847). 8vo. 5s.

Plane Trigonometry. For Schools and Colleges. By I. TODHUNTER,
M.A. Second Edition, 279 pp. (1860). Crown 8vo. 5s.

Spherical Trigonometry. For Colleges and Schools. By I.
TODHUNTER, M.A. 112 pp. (1859). Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Plane Trigonometry. With a numerous Collection of Examples.
By R. D. BRASLEY, M.A. 106 pp. (1858). Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. With the Construction and
Use of Tables of Logarithms. By J. C. SNOWBALL, M.A. Ninth Edition, 240 pp.
(1857). Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

III. MECHANICS AND HYDROSTATICS.

Elementary Treatise on Mechanics. With a Collection of
Examples. By S. PARKINSON, B.D. Second Edition, 345 pp. (1860). Cr. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

Elementary Course of Mechanics and Hydrostatics. By J. C.
SNOWBALL, M.A. Fourth Edition. 110 pp. (1851). Crown 8vo. 5s.

MECHANICS AND HYDROSTATICS—*continued.*

Elementary Hydrostatics. With numerous Examples and Solutions. By J. B. PHEAR, M.A. Second Edition. 156 pp. (1857). Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Analytical Statics. With numerous Examples. By I. TODHUNTER, M.A. Second Edition. 330 pp. (1858). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Dynamics of a Particle. With numerous Examples. By P. G. TAIT, M.A. and W. J. STEELE, M.A. 304 pp. (1856). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Treatise on Dynamics. By W. P. WILSON, M.A. 176 pp. (1850). 8vo. 9s. 6d.

Dynamics of a System of Rigid Bodies. With numerous Examples. By E. J. ROUTH, M.A. 336 pp. (1860). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

IV. ASTRONOMY AND OPTICS.

Plane Astronomy. Including Explanations of Celestial Phenomena and Instruments. By A. R. GRANT, M.A. 128 pp. (1860). 8vo. 6s.

Elementary Treatise on the Lunar Theory. By H. GODFRAY, M.A. Second Edition. 119 pp. (1859). Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

A Treatise on Optics. By S. PARKINSON, B.D. 304 pp. (1859). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

V. GEOMETRY AND CONIC SECTIONS.

Geometrical Treatise on Conic Sections. With a Collection of Examples. By W. H. DAEW, M.A. 121 pp. (1857). 4s. 6d.

Plane Co-ordinate Geometry as applied to the Straight Line and the Conic Sections. By I. TODHUNTER, M.A. Second Edition. 316 pp. (1858). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Elementary Treatise on Conic Sections and Algebraic Geometry. By G. H. PUCKLE, M.A. Second Edition. 264 pp. (1856). Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Examples of Analytical Geometry of Three Dimensions. With the Results. Collected by I. TODHUNTER, M.A. 76 pp. (1858). Crown 8vo. 4s.

VI. DIFFERENTIAL AND INTEGRAL CALCULUS.

The Differential Calculus. With numerous Examples. By I. TODHUNTER, M.A. Third Edition. 404 pp. (1860). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Integral Calculus, and its Applications. With numerous Examples. By I. TODHUNTER, M.A. 268 pp. (1857). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Treatise on Differential Equations. By GEORGE BOOLE, D.C.L. 486 pp. (1859). Crown 8vo. 14s.

A Treatise on the Calculus of Finite Differences. By GEORGE BOOLE, D.C.L. 248 pp. (1840). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

VII. APPLIED SCIENCE.

On the Algebraical and Numerical Theory of Errors of Observations, and the Combination of Observations. By the Astronomer Royal, G. B. AIRY, M.A. 103 pp. (1861). 6s. 6d.

The Construction of Wrought Iron Bridges, embracing the Practical Application of the Principles of Mechanics to Wrought Iron Girder Work. By J. H. LATHAM, M.A. C.E. *With numerous plates.* 282 pp. (1858). 15s.

Mathematical Tracts, On the LUNAR AND PLANETARY THEORIES, THE FIGURE OF THE EARTH, Precession and Nutation, the Calculus of Variations, and the Undulatory Theory of Optics. By the Astronomer Royal, G. B. AIRY, M.A. Fourth Edition. 400 pp. (1858). 15s.

A Collection of Mathematical Problems and Examples. With Answers. By H. A. MORGAN, M.A. 190 pp. (1858). Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Senate-House Mathematical Problems. With Solutions—

- 1848-51. By FERRERS and JACKSON. 8vo. 15s. 6d.
- 1848-51. (Riders.) By JAMESON. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- 1854. By WALTON and MACKENZIE. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- 1857. By CAMPION and WALTON. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- 1860. By ROUTH and WATSON. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

VIII. LATIN.

Help to Latin Grammar ; or, the Form and Use of Words in Latin. With Progressive Exercises. By JOSIAH WRIGHT. M.A. 175 pp. (1855). Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

The Seven Kings of Rome. A First Latin Reading Book. By JOSIAH WRIGHT, M.A. Second Edition. 188 pp. (1857). Fcap. 8vo. 3s.

Vocabulary and Exercises on "The Seven Kings." By JOSIAH WRIGHT, M.A. 94 pp. (1857). Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

A First Latin Construing Book. By E. THRING, M.A. 104 pp. (1855). Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Rules for the Quantity-of Syllables in Latin. 10 pp. (1858). Crown 8vo. 1s.

Theory of Conditional Sentences in Latin and Greek. By R. HORTON SMITH, M.A. 30 pp. (1859). 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Sallust.—Catilina and Jugurtha. With English Notes. For Schools. By CHARLES MERIVALE, B.D. Second Edition, 172 pp. (1858). Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Catilina and Jugurtha may be had separately, price 2s. 6d. each.

Juvenal. For Schools. With English Notes and an Index. By J. E. MAYOR, M.A. 464 pp. (1853). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Cicero's Second Philippic. With English Notes. By JOHN E. B. MAYOR. 168 pp. (1861). 5s.

IX. GREEK.

Hellenica ; a First Greek Reading Book. Being a History of Greece, taken from Diodorus and Thucydides. By JOSIAH WRIGHT, M.A. Second Edition. 150 pp. (1857). Fcap. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

GREEK—*continued.*

Demosthenes on the Crown. With English Notes. By B. DRAKE, M.A. Second Edition, to which is prefixed *Æschines* against *Ctesiphon*. With English Notes. (1860). Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

Demosthenes on the Crown. Translated by J. P. NORRIS, M.A. (1850). Crown 8vo. 3s.

Thucydides. Book VI. With English Notes and an Index. By P. FROST, Jun. M.A. 110 pp. (1854). 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Æschylus. The *Eumenides*. With English Notes and Translation. By B. DRAKE, M.A. 144 pp. (1853). 8vo. 7s. 6d.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: With Notes. By CHARLES JOHN VAUGHAN, D.D. 157 pp. (1859). 8vo. 7s. 6d.

X. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

The Child's English Grammar. By E. THRING, M.A. Demy 18mo. New Edition. (1857). 1s.

Elements of Grammar taught in English. By E. THRING, M.A. Third Edition. 136 pp. (1860). Demy 18mo. 2s.

Materials for a Grammar of the Modern English Language. By G. H. PARMINTER, M.A. 220 pp. (1856). Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

XI. RELIGIOUS.

History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages. By ARCHDEACON HARDWICK. 482 pp. (1853). With Maps. Crown 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d.

History of the Christian Church during the Reformation. By ARCHDEACON HARDWICK. 459 pp. (1850). Crown 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d.

History of the Book of Common Prayer. By FRANCIS PROCTER, M.A. 464 pp. (1860). Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d.

History of the Canon of the New Testament during the First Four Centuries. By BROOK FOSS WESTCOTT, M.A. 594 pp. (1855). Crown 8vo. cloth. 12s. 6d.

Introduction to the Study of the Gospels. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, M.A. (1860). Crown 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d.

The Church Catechism Illustrated and Explained. By ARTHUR RAMSAY, M.A. 204 pp. (1854). 18mo. cloth. 3s. 6d.

Notes for Lectures on Confirmation: With Suitable Prayers. By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. Third Edition. 70 pp. (1859). Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Hand-Book to Butler's Analogy. By C. A. SWAINSON, M.A. 55 pp. (1856). Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.

History of the Christian Church during the First Three Centuries, and the Reformation in England. By WILLIAM SIMPSON, M.A. 307 pp. (1857). Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 5s.

Analysis of Paley's Evidences of Christianity. By CHARLES H. CROSS, M.A. 115 pp. (1855). 18mo. 3s. 6d.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS.

Life and Correspondence of M. de Tocqueville.

By G. DE BEAUMONT. Translated from the Original with the Author's sanction.
Two vols. 8vo.

Memoir of the Rev. John Clay, late Chaplain of Preston Gaol. With Selections from his Writings and Correspondence, and a Sketch of the Progress of Prison Discipline in England. Edited by his Son. 8vo. with Portrait.

Private Law among the Romans, from the Pandects.

By JOHN GEORGE PHILLIMORE. [In the Press.]

Life of Edward Forbes, the Naturalist.

By GEORGE WILSON, M.D., late Professor of Technology in the University of Edinburgh, and ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.G.S. of the Geological Survey.

Pictures of Old England.

By DR. PAULI. Translated from the Original by E. C. OTTE.

The Golden Treasury:

A Collection of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language. Selected and arranged, with Notes, by F. T. PALGRAVE, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.
Dedicated by permission to ALFRED TENNYSON. [In the Press.]

An Elementary Treatise on Quaternions.

With numerous Examples. By P. G. TAIT, M.A. Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

First Book of Algebra for Schools.

By the Rev. J. C. ELLIS, M.A. and P. M. CLARK, M.A. of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. [Preparing.]

A Treatise on Trilinear Co-ordinates.

By N. M. FERRERS, M.A. Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer of Gonville and Caius College.

The Broken Troth.

A Tale of Tuscany, from the Italian. By PHILIP IRETON. Two Vols. Fcap. 8vo.
[Immediately.]

The Platonic Dialogues, for English Readers.

By W. WHEWELL, D.D. F.R.S. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Volume III. containing the REPUBLIC. [In the Press.]

Foot-Notes from the Page of Nature; or, First Forms of Vegetation. By the Rev. H. MACMILLAN, F.R.S.E. [In the Press.]

Life of William Blake, the Artist.

With numerous Illustrations from his Works. By ALEXANDER GILCHRIST.
[Preparing.]



